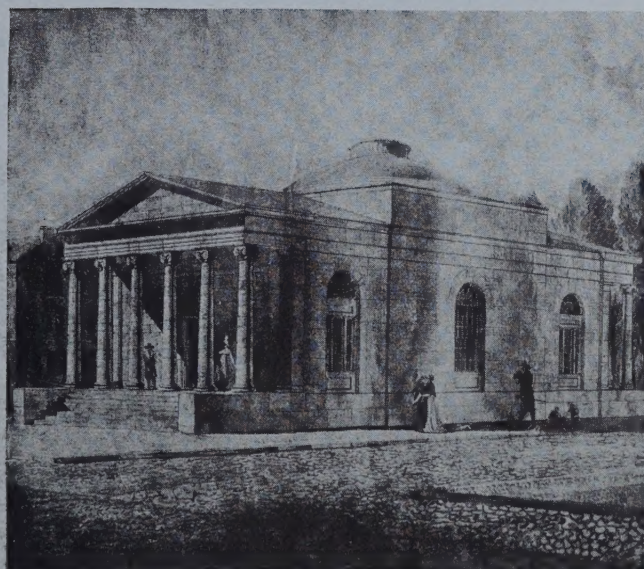


GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

FEBRUARY, 1944



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MASS PRODUCTION IN ANTIQUITY

ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE MODERN COLLECTOR

AERICAN collectors of European art are at a peculiar disadvantage in being far from the source of the objects which they collect. This results not only in a comparative scarcity of material available to them, but also in their having less opportunity than their European rivals to know their subject thoroughly. Material for comparative study, instead of being just around the corner, is thousands of miles away, or even across the ocean. An American collector of our day may actually find himself in the position of being the first in his country ever to face a particular problem. Since the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" is now being published in English and therefore is more useful than heretofore to American collectors, this seems an appropriate time and place to make some remarks on one of their problems: the evaluation of the commercial art of antiquity.

In collecting works of art from the ancient world, we are attracted by rarity. A special value attaches itself to objects which are unique. We like to have what nobody else can have, and our liking reflects itself in the large price which we are willing to spend for rare objects. Yet in buying on this basis we always face the disagreeable possibility of making a mistake. How can one of us, living thousands of miles and thousands of years from the source, know whether an object is rare or not? How can he avoid paying extravagantly for a piece which is unique in America simply because nobody cared to bring back another? Even those who are trained in the field, even those who have had opportunities for travel in distant lands and who know professional literature — can even they pass on an isolated piece which suddenly appears in America and decide whether or not it is rare?

Does the fact that an experienced collector knows no parallel of a piece justify his paying a huge price for it, or is his ignorance due to inadequacy of publications from excavations which sometimes have omitted the very material which appeared insignificant in the field but "rare" at home? Even granted that he can accept the standard appellation "only one in America" as true at the moment, can he be sure that the piece which he buys as a rarity is not the advance attack of a mammoth invasion launched from some base recently acquired, to be followed within a year by a transport-load of duplicates?

One test which should always be applied is that of technique. If the object was made by a reduplicative process one may be fairly sure that duplicates have been or will be found. The process is usually apparent. Almost invariably it has been studied and reported in a treatise which has become the reading matter of those who expect to write more such treatises but which is neglected by those whose pocketbooks are involved. Because the works on the subject are lengthy and dull,

I venture to repeat some of their contents.

The case of repetition is clear for coins, since, of course, they are meant to be alike. Since early Greek times they have been struck on dies which have been used thousands of times. There is no such thing as a unique coin. A rare coin is a coin of a type of which few examples survive either because of accident of preserva-



FIG. 1. — I CENTURY B. C.-I CENTURY A. D. — Lustrous cup, grape vine (green exterior, brown interior). — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

tion, or because the issue was comparatively small, or because it was soon withdrawn from circulation. Collectors study coins and learn to recognize the impression of a particular die. From the combinations they deduce how long a die was in use and how long coins of a type were minted. But they do not believe that they possess unique impressions of the dies. They know that even if no other impression of a die is known today it is likely to be discovered tomorrow.

Everyone realizes that much about ancient money, but some of us persist in the belief that the ancients did not duplicate anything but their money. In fact, we often have a sentimental prejudice against believing the truth. The Greeks were individualists. They never repeated themselves. Every pan, every necklace, every statuette, every person in every Greek home was unique — so one likes to believe.

Actually, as the study of techniques has made abundantly clear, the Greeks saved themselves just as much labor as they were able to. Like ourselves, they enjoyed ease. And nobody ever claimed that the Romans were devoted to self-expression with artistic media. It is only when we buy the fruits of their labors that we are tempted to become sentimental and class them with the fabulous Greek individualists.



FIG. 2. — III-II CENTURY B. C. — "Megarian" bowl, acanthus leaves, Eros as musicians. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

We need sometimes to remind ourselves that what we call the Classical Civilization lasted for one thousand years and that this millennium saw great developments. In the beginning there was a primitive civilization: small town production, very limited trade, and hand work. But in the IV century B.C. terra cotta statuettes were being made wholesale in Greece. The Etruscans, who were practically *the* artists of Republican Rome, were always adept at saving themselves labor on their terra cotta sculpture and their bronze utensils, and the Egyptians, whom the Romans eventually conquered, invented wholesale methods of making bronze statuettes. By the time of Augustus there was imperial rule from Britain to Persia, a great system of trade, and a factory system of production made possible and desirable by many factors, not the least of which was a variety of devices for mass production. It would be wrong to contend that Roman factory organization was on the scale of our own. There was no ancient Ford Plant; yet the number employed in certain pottery or brick factories is astonishing. It would also be wrong to say that machinery was at the level of our own, or the subdivision of labor as complete. Yet, during the reign of Augustus, the poet Horace expressed sympathy for the bronze worker who could and did make curls and finger-nails but not whole statues¹! Surely, that is an ancient version of our Ford system. And it is absolutely true that the economic system of the Roman Empire was the most advanced of any down to our own times. The output was enormous, the standardization perfect. Anyone could live well with cheap goods. A glass manufacturer, say in Sidon, knew that his firm, and his alone, could supply a certain type of beautiful glass bottle blown into a mould. He knew that his bottle, which was always the same, served Egypt, Italy, Gaul, Britain; and he knew that it was a better bottle than most Egyptians, Romans, Gauls or

1. HORACE, *De Arte Poetica*, lines 32 ff.



FIG. 3.—IV CENTURY B. C.—Etruscan terra cotta roof ornament, satyr.—Made at Caere.—Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

Britains would have made for themselves. He had a good model and he made his product in mass. He would have been pleased to have known that his product was dug up thousands of years later and admired for its beauty and its practicality, but he would have been disgusted that the excavators considered it rare. Rare? He had supplied the empire with it.

The transition from the small to the great economic system is important for the collector. He prizes works of the earliest Greek times because they are individual creations, each showing an advance in craftsmanship over its predecessor, each being a labor of love. There are not many of them. Greece was a small country. The price of the individual piece is high. From Roman imperial times the collector wants a variety of types with which to assemble

in miniature the civilization so like our own. Since most of these pieces were made by mass methods, their prices are low.

The III century A.D., a century of war and revolution, saw the beginning of the slow death of this culture and its factory system. For generations at a time few craftsmen could be trained. When peace of a sort was restored, workmen had lost not only their skill of hand but their methods of production and their organization as well. As troublous times repeated themselves, artisans forgot more and more of the skills of their crafts. In a few centuries production dropped from the most prolific to the most barren. The tricks of multiple production were not all lost nor all at once, as witness, for example, the terra cotta lamps with moulded Christian symbols, which were a mass product. But many processes were forgotten as the need for them decreased. Quality, on the whole, deteriorated as well. Yet all the while there was developing a new school of work, to emerge eventually as the Mediaeval civilization, a civilization on a much lower economic scale, which by its very paucity forced the laborer into a painstakingness which a Roman would have avoided and which by its ardent faith inspired him with a love of his subject which no pagan could have felt.

The economic system was slow to recover. Whatever we admire in the ages succeeding the fall of Rome, it is surely neither the system of production nor the

standard of living. Not until after the industrial revolution (beginning in the age of Gibbon, who considered the II century A.D. the wealthiest and happiest in human history) did the common man again live on the Roman level. As a result, there is a comparative scarcity of things to collect from the period after the fall of Rome. Moreover, the division of the Roman Empire into two parts and the subsequent isolation of districts within these two parts led to the development of distinct schools of art which would have been inconceivable under Roman rule in the face of the fine Roman system of communication, but which are reminiscent of the small local schools of archaic Greece. To the modern collector this presents a serious problem. If he desires a comprehensive collection he must procure as much from each of these tiny local civilizations as from the whole Roman Empire of the preceding age. There are not enough representative pieces to go around and naturally the price goes up.

A parallel to the situation of handmade and mass-made ancient artifacts occurs in the field of books and prints. Since the XV century there has existed the method of mechanical duplication of pictures and words, the method of printing. Great artists and great designers have used this method. We collect prints of many types, and books, too; but we do not confuse them with old masters or with illuminated manuscripts. Nobody despises a Rembrandt print, but nobody pays as much for it as for a Rembrandt painting. Similarly, he does not have to pay as much for a typical Greek Tanagra statuette, no matter how lovely, as for a typical marble statuette of the same period.

To repeat, then, it may be said that we today take the greatest delight in works of the early Greek and of the early Mediaeval periods. But the high prices which works of these periods command are not due to our love alone. They are rare, and

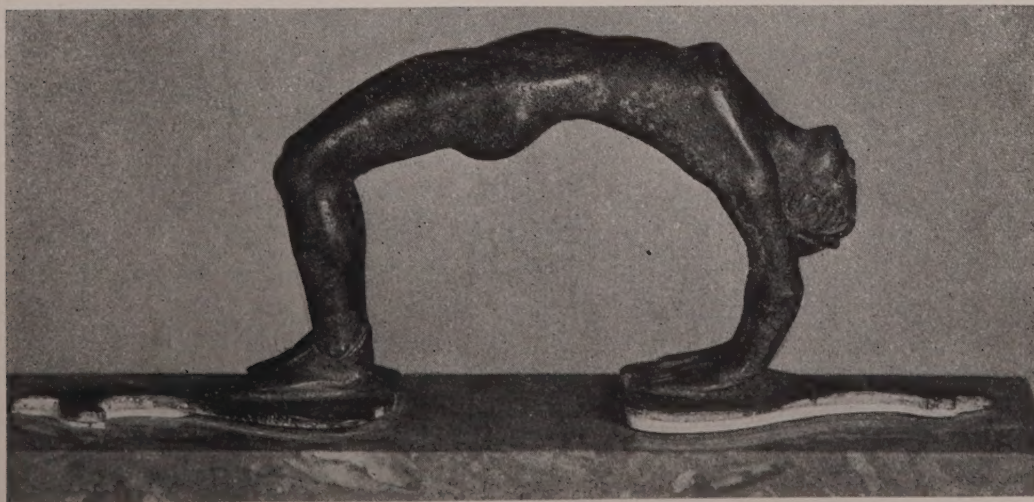


FIG. 4. — ETRUSCAN (PRAENESTINE) V-IV CENTURY B. C. — Bronze handle from a cist.
— Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

therefore collectors must pay high prices for them. Prices of later Greek and Roman things are progressively lower, because there are more of them. And of the wares made by reduplicative methods, prices should be the lowest of all. The test to apply before spending money is: was this object made by a reduplicative process? If the answer is affirmative, the object does not belong in the high price range, though, of course, a fine piece is worth much more than a poor one. Now

let me summarize briefly what has been written on these processes.

The potter's wheel was invented as an aid to the manufacture of pottery before the dawn of Classical civilization. It led to the standardization of shapes. Show any intelligent collector an Attic vase with the lip and shoulder of a hydria and the handles of an amphora, and he knows immediately that it is the result either of an unsuccessful Greek experiment or, more probably, of a modern experiment aimed to trick him. The potter's wheel was the first of the reduplicative devices. There were other processes for duplicating the decoration of vases. Although there was no mechanical duplication of vase paintings, relief decoration was always repeatable and except for the high Greek period (the VI and V centuries B.C.), all the good pottery of ancient times was decorated with moulded reliefs. One large group of early Etruscan bucchero was decorated with the help of moulds within which the vase was thrown on the wheel²; for another group the impression was made by rolling a seal cylinder. A considerable but not infinite variety of stamps and



FIG. 5. — I CENTURY A. D. — Roman bronze jug, cast in parts.
— Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

moulds gave character to this ware. Stamps were also used on storage jars in the Greece of the Geometric Age. After the decline of the painted pottery of Greece in the IV century B.C., a succession of moulded wares served the needs of fastidious citizens for the next six centuries. The important wares of the late Greek and Roman

2. G. M. A. RICHTER, in: "Studi Etruschi", X, 1926, pp. 61-65.

times are: the "Megarian", an Hellenistic pottery with dull glaze and moulded floral and figure patterns (Fig. 2); the Homeric cups, a sub-class of the "Megarian"; a similar ware which is probably Corinthian³; the "Calene", a black-glazed ware with figured high relief in imitation of silver repoussé; the "Arretine" and its various imitations called "terra sigillata", which is thin red ware with shiny surface and floral and animal designs in relief, the commonest of all moulded pottery and the most beautiful; and a lustrous ware with moulded designs under a vitreous glaze, usually green without and brown within (Fig. 1). All these moulded wares are of fine craftsmanship, and frequently bear the

name of the owner of the factory, as proud a part of the mould as the decoration itself. They are worthy of our admiration, indeed all our admiration except that which we reserve for painted vases, the Greek vases *par excellence*.

Terra cotta lamps were decorated with moulded reliefs from the I through the IV centuries A.D. The designs were repeated *ad nauseam*. Many of them, however, are very attractive when viewed individually. As with all moulded ware, there is variety of quality depending upon the condition of the mould at the time of its use.

The terra cotta figurines of antiquity were, of course, mould-made (Fig. 9). They exemplify some of the less lovely possibilities of commercial production. While some are beautifully shaped, many were made after the moulds were old and worn. To make matters worse, a new mould was sometimes made from a statuette and thus the type was perpetuated. In this case, the later impressions are smaller as well as poorer than the earlier ones, due to the shrinkage of statuette and mould. A seated goddess with high hat made in Athens in the late VI century B.C. is a fine creature, but her sister, a century younger, is pathetic. And by the IV century statuettes were being made in partial moulds. The artist had a supply of moulds for heads, arms, legs and torsos; he chose the desired parts and combined them. This made for speedy production, and also for some enormities which do not raise our estimation of the Greek race. But despite the weaknesses of the system, many ancient terra cotta statuettes are of surpassing loveliness, and we can understand why our grandparents became so enthusiastic over them when, freshly dug from Tanagra, they burst upon an awed public in 1870.



FIG. 6. — III CENTURY A. D. — Roman gold chain of folded links cut from sheet metal, and plaque with relief of sun-god beaten into a matrix. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

3. SPITZER, in: "Hesperia", XI, 1942, pp. 162-192.

Two other classes of terra cottas, both very popular and very lovely and made by mass methods, are the so-called "Melian" reliefs from the Greek district and the pinakes from Locri in South Italy. But terra cotta sculpture on a large scale flourished particularly in Etruria, where there was neither good stone nor marble. The large statues and the pedimental groups were not duplicated any more than were the Greek marble works. But the smaller architectural revetments, the roof ornaments and friezes, were made in moulds and frequently repeated; some rank as museum objects today (Fig. 3). A terra cotta architectural frieze with the relief of a headless Nike and a head of the same came into one museum at different times. They are made from the same mould and they do not fit one another!

Cast bronze always suggests duplication, and has usually been subjected to it. Large bronze statues were never repeated, simply because there was no need for them. The bronze busts of imperial times were sometimes made by sand moulds with partial negatives, a process of easy duplication, yet the total number of such bronze busts is not great⁴.

The statuettes of the Greeks and

Romans were made by the lost wax process, in which a wax model is destroyed for every bronze. In modern times a mould of the original is kept, so that several copies can be made. The ancients knew this trick, but used it sparingly. The Egyptians developed a system of easy reproductions of statuettes of their deities. In partial moulds half-legs, half-arms, torsos, heads, were made of wax⁵; the wax parts were stuck together and a bronze figure was cast after the complete wax figure. This is the same method that was used for the Tanagra terra cotta statuettes. It must be said that the Egyptian bronze statuettes were well suited for it. The formal style was in accord with such mass production and did not tempt the artist to experiment with wild combina-

tions of parts. By this method the Egyptian artisan managed to supply the great religious demands of his people. There is a difference in the quality of Egyptian statuettes, due to the finishing after casting and the state of the moulds when used, but there is no Egyptian super-bronze, and not even an out-size bronze. This method of duplicating statuettes the Greeks,

Romans and Etruscans did not, in general, use. Their bronze statuettes are



FIG. 7. — Head of Hercules, Roman cameo, cast of brown and white glass. (Duplicate in the Bibliothèque Nationale). — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

4. KLUGE AND LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Die Antiken Grossbronzen*, I, p. 96.

5. ROEDER, in: "Jahrb. Arch. Inst.", XLVIII, 1933, pp. 226 ff; and in: "Zeitschrift für Aegypt. Sprache", LXIX, 1933, pp. 45-67.

really individual. Each wax model was hand-worked, and then destroyed. This gives Classical bronzes their quality — and their price. The partial mould process was applied to statuettes only in certain Graeco-Roman factories located in Egypt⁶. Their products and a few Etruscan votive statuettes cast flat by some process other than *cire perdue* and perhaps also some small Roman versions of the deities are about the only figures made by mass methods. The difference between these and the good Classical statuettes is patent.

But the Greeks, the Etruscans and the Romans regularly used moulds and stamps for the wax models of their decorative bronzes, and that from early times⁷. Even the best of the bronze attachments were standardized and were put on standardized vessels of sheet metal. Faults due to careless moulding of the model were remedied by extensive chiselling on the cast fixture, a peculiarity which sometimes helps to distinguish a human figure intended as a handle from one intended as a statuette.

It is very important to know whether such a human figure was made by mass methods as a handle or individually as a statuette. This is no mere academic question. The difference in price is enormous. If it were not, stubs would not frequently be chiselled from handles by those who wish to sell them at high prices. It is well to check each statuette against the handle types of its period, and to look for the traces of stubs at appropriate points. Handles have their place as illustrations of the artistic sense of a period, as witness the beautiful handle which we reproduce (Fig. 4). But the ancient purchaser, like the modern dealer, knew the difference between a handle and a work of art, and the modern purchaser should know it, too⁸.

All-cast metal vases were produced in southern Italy, especially in late Hellen-



FIG. 8. — ROMAN PERIOD. — Greek glass vase, of amber-colored glass blown in a mould (note the reversed N). — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

6. See my article in: "Art in America", XXXI, 1943, pp. 182-194.

7. PERNICE, in: "Jahreshefte des Oest. Arch. Inst.", VII, 1904, pp. 154-197.

8. To avoid misunderstanding, I must state that neither in this case nor in the case of any of the pieces illustrated here is there any indication that the purchaser did not know what he was getting.

istic and early imperial times, in quantities comparable to modern mass production. After casting in standard moulds, they were finished by cutting and polishing while being turned on a lathe. Quite regularly the maker's name was cast into the pan. The signatures are worthy of collecting — usually better than the forms of the vessels. While admitting the ugliness of many such pans, let us never forget that out of the same factories came jugs of the type illustrated in figure 5, which, though commercially produced, are as lovely as anything ever made by man.

Other bronzes were hammered instead of cast. The decoration of hammered bronzes is usually in repoussé, a technique probably invented by the Greeks of the V century B.C. and still in use⁹. Repoussé is a free-hand technique, so that there are no two repoussés alike. With this technique the Greek artist seemed to surpass himself. No relief was too high, no detail too difficult for him to master. The designs are often as good as the craftsmanship. Repoussés are among the most precious relics of antiquity. Along with this technique, the ancients in all periods hammered bronze into matrices to make reliefs. This was done chiefly for utilitarian pieces which were needed in quantity. A hammered-into-a-matrix relief can usually be distinguished by its poor detail, though a few are excellent, and though the detail has been improved somewhat by chiselling¹⁰. In general, matrix-made reliefs should be cheaper than repoussé.

It might be presumed that jewelry could escape the touch of commercialization, at least by someone who did not know what we of the past generation have done to jewelry. The Romans anticipated us in the realm of costume jewelry. Throughout Greek and Etruscan times jewelry had been made in the most difficult ways, by granulation of tiny dots applied to a background and by strips twisted by hand into wires, but early in the Roman Empire heavy cast jewelry came into fashion¹¹. This reduced the labor involved but tended to increase the consumption of precious metal, since castings were usually heavy. Near the end of the Roman Empire a method was discovered of casting granulation together with the background, a labor-saving method which continued in Byzantine times. In late Roman times chains were no longer of wire twisted by hand, but of links cut out of sheet metal with stamps. Some links were cut to resemble elaborate structures of wire; sometimes a double link was cut with one loop closed and the other open, then the open end was put through the next perfect loop and twisted shut by hand. Or, easier still, cut links were passed each through the next and folded, making a chain exactly like the one known to us from certain useful Victorian (or was it Edwardian?) fixtures (Fig. 6). Stones or glass cut to octagonal rods and then sliced into

9. "Hesperia", XII, 1943, pp. 1 ff., and a forthcoming issue of the same journal.

10. The same two methods are used side by side in factories which produce modern embossed silver vessels. A given pattern is copied by eye in repoussé and the result sold at high price; and it is cut on dies set in a power press in which cheap pieces are made. The difference between the two products is apparent to a purchaser of even ordinary taste.

11. See a mould for casting earrings, in: MARSHALL, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum*, 1911, p. 296; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, Pl. VI, no. 6.



FIG. 9. — IV-III CENTURIES B. C. — Greek terra cotta statuette, made in partial moulds. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

beads were combined with such chains; or coins of the day or of a previous day set in mountings of sheet metal, cut out by stamps; or paper-thin sheets beaten into relief in matrices. The distant spectator can only rejoice that the decrease in the buying public eventually forced such practices to be abandoned in large part in favor of painstaking Mediaeval ornament.

Glass was an Egyptian invention, and the Egyptians labored hard over it. Ancient Egyptian glass vases were always made by winding rods of glass around a sandy core. Decoration was by rods of contrasting color melted into the body. In the days of the Greeks in Egypt the "milleflore" technique was invented. For this, tiny rods were grouped to form a pattern and fused into a large mosaic rod. Then slices were cut as from a jelly roll and fused together in a mould, making a vessel of mosaic glass. The labor on each vase was great, but the designs, whether simple rosettes or human faces, were frequently repeated; it paid to make a long mosaic rod and many vessels from it. Then the blowing of glass — comparatively quick and easy, and a step toward mass production

— was invented by the Romans. Sometimes glass was blown into moulds which were, of course, repeatedly used. Vases with human faces on each side were especially common. A well-known group of cups blown into inscribed moulds is a good example of the quality of work which may result from mass production. One (at least one) mould was made with the N in reverse, a natural mistake when one is writing in reverse on a mould. Instead of rejecting the mould the manufacturer used it, and vases with the incorrect letter are to be found in all the best modern museums (Fig. 8). A blown vase could receive additional decoration by means more or less laborious, turning, cutting on a lathe, application of ribbons of glass of various colors, mixing of colors of glass before blowing, or hand engraving. That is to say, a piece might or might not receive treatment which individualized it. A

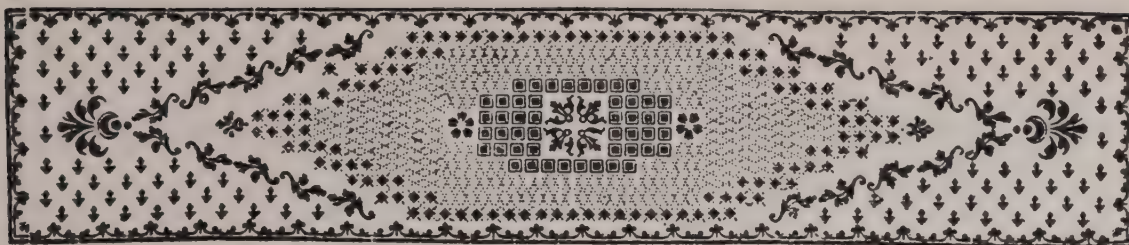
peculiarity of interest to glass collectors is the devitrification of the glass while buried in moist soil, resulting in iridescence. The iridescence was not intended by the manufacturer; in fact it is not to his credit. The hardest glass, including the earliest Egyptian, rarely has it. The worst of the Roman blown commercial bottles usually have the prettiest iridescence.

Gem cutting is meticulous work which does not allow many labor-saving devices. The drill, known very early, is a help. Only on late Etruscan scarabs is the drill used to the point of abuse, cutting whole scenes and bodies in combinations of circles of various sizes and not reworked. But glass as well as semi-precious stone was used for ancient gems. Though some glass gems were cut, others, both intaglios and cameos, were made by casting in moulds made from gems of hard stone, and thus were frankly commercialized (Fig. 7). Strangely enough, not very many are known, though one may hazard the guess that they will be eventually.

I hope that nothing which I have said will be taken to disparage Greek and Roman commercial art; we should admire it and the people who produced it. Surely we who have enjoyed the benefits of an economy which has produced machine-made silk stockings and costume jewelry for every working girl and an automobile for the poorest family should admire the ancients for making available to the masses such pieces as are illustrated here. And the recognition of such merchandise for what it is cannot diminish our love of the other Classical art, the fine creations of great artists.

DOROTHY KENT HILL.





SYMBOLISM OF THE RUSSIAN ICON

STUDIES of Russian religious paintings are usually dedicated to iconographical analysis and artistic appreciations, while the spiritual value of the ancient icon, the motives of its creation and its poetic diction are disregarded and generally ignored. In our days the icon has mostly become an enigmatic illustration, a detached page of a forgotten book, or words of a song whose music is lost. Nevertheless the beauty of this peculiar religious art can be better perceived by the spontaneous feeling that the icon by itself is a prayer, mystic and symbolic, in which the artist expresses his pious feelings in the same solemn yet melodious way as the Russian church addresses God in Slavonic chants. The ancient form of speech, understandable to every Russian if not word for word, at least in its general significance creates a special harmony of majestic sounds, an atmosphere of solemn simplicity and touching beauty. Religious mystery, inaccessible to mind, cannot be rendered by earthly features and terrestrial environments. The icon therefore is neither a portrait nor a picture. It is a symbolic image. Its essence is only spirit, not flesh. The figures live and move in the infinite air of an unknown world with imaginary perspective, where trees are fantastic, mountains celestial and flowers paradisiac, where conventional garments, in conventional folds, fall over abstract bodies, where faces are untouched by human joy or sorrow, where every miracle is possible and acceptable.

When in 988 Russia adopted the Christian faith from Byzantium she adopted also its religious art. Painters, architects, priests, preachers, teachers were Greek and the Russians followed their patterns blindly. National creative religious art really came into bloom several centuries later, when the new religion had penetrated the soul and imagination of the people becoming a natural part of their life, of their thoughts, of their own history and traditions. From about the XIII-XIV

***This article is based upon material in the Research Library of Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University, Washington, D. C. Appreciation is expressed to Dr. E. de Savitsch for his cooperation and advice.

centuries on, the Russian artist found a way to the interpretation of his faith. The rigidity of Greek patterns, the dark colours, the austere lines became graceful, delicate and light; flowering backgrounds, unreal architectural ornaments and

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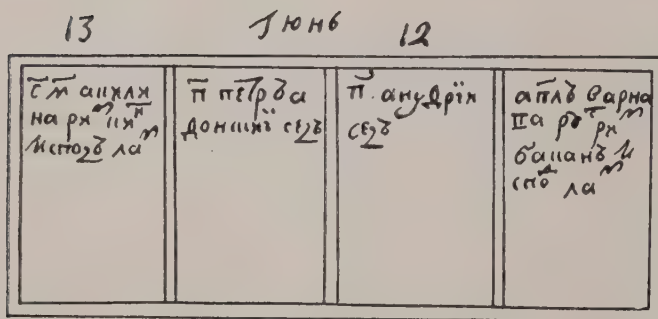


FIG. 1. — St. Onuphrius. — *Ikonopisnyi Sbornik* (Manual.)

centuries. From the artistic point of view they are often of great beauty in colouring, balance of groups, fantastic figures and almost a jeweler's execution of details. Today their symbolic language is generally forgotten. An attempt to interpret their stilled voice is rewarded by bringing to life the artist's train of thought and the sources of his inspiration.

In approaching his task the Russian iconographer has endless possibilities to realize and express a given subject. Materials inherited from Byzantium became

a million enchanting details added the feeling of serene rejoicing and painless sorrow to the heavenly mystery, but always in the symbolic and traditional way corresponding to the spirit of the Greek Orthodox church. The icon was in itself a prayer, but also an important guide to spiritual and religious education. Illiterates could follow word by word the principal prayers in a series of images on a single icon. Also the dogma of the church, the teaching of Christian morals were visualized and understood in images representing rewards and punishments corresponding to the various deeds. Besides these icons, called "prayer", "festival", "dogmatic" and "educational" there were purely symbolic icons, extremely complex in composition, reflecting the ingenious homespun philosophy of the time. These symbolic icons were very popular and highly esteemed in the XVI-XVII

largely increased by legends, folk-lore, pilgrim's tales, visions, translated apocrypha, sermons, chants and prayers, some of national and others of western origin. Special "Manuals" (*Ikonopisniyi Sborniki*) guided the artist through this labyrinth of sensation, keeping him close to the scheme of compositions approved by the Church. On the other hand he could exploit his own inspiration in the choice of details and draw additional images from the religious thinking of his time. The "Manual" simplified also the problem of the representation of individual saints. The Church required their absolutely abstract images, which could be hardly told one from the other without the prescribed "symbol of attribution" in each case. These symbols of distinction became so deeply engraved in the

mind of every Russian, that even an illiterate would not light a candle of St. Nicholas instead of St. Panteleon. St. Panteleon, a physician during his life, has always his little spoon in one hand and his medical box in the other, but St. Nicholas is recognized, not by the book of Gospels in his arms (a symbol used also for other saint bishops), but by his beard and hair.

From the earliest history to the XVIII century the beard was for the Russians the sign of special beauty, grandeur and esteem. A Russian who shaved his beard was regarded neither as a Russian nor as a member of the Orthodox faith. In 1551, in the time of Tsar Ivan the IV, the "Stoglavyi" Council in Moscow ordained that if a man died in the undeserving state of a shaved face, he was not worthy to have prayers chanted over his grave, as with his face shaved he belongs among the unfaithful. Therefore the beard played the most important part in the attributive symbols of Russian iconography. All saints, except those who died at a tender age, have beards. A beard reaching to the ground is a sign of special glorious deeds of a sainted hermit (Fig. 1). Demons are therefore always clean shaven; Satan, the



FIG. 2. — The Entry into Jerusalem. — Formerly Collection Ostrooukhov, Moscow.



FIG. 3. — The Entombment. — Formerly Collection Ostrooukhov, Moscow.

elder of his kind, is the one exception. The "Manual" prescribed endless variations of the shape, length and colour of the beard and an exact description of the style of hair, as: curly, long, short, thin or bald-headed. The combination of beard and style of hair gives each figure an individual character regardless of the conventionalism of the image.

Architectural and landscape symbols helped to form the ornamental silhouette of the background, namely: a roof with coupolas is a church, a single frontlet means a whole building, a single building is an entire city, a piece of cloth gracefully draped from one wall to the other indicates the interior of a house or of a church. The sky is a triangle with a rainbow at the edge, or a scroll with stars held stretched by two angels. Movements, joy and despair are stressed by nature and backgrounds. For example, in the *Entry into Jerusalem*

(Fig. 2) the tree emphasizes the movement of the group of Apostles, headed by Christ, toward the city; in the *Entombment* (Fig. 3) the lifted arms of the crying woman are accentuated and echoed by the silhouette of two mountains and so forth.

Although the Western influence began to infiltrate into literature and art in the XV century, the Russian icon lived over two more centuries its mystical and undisturbed life. New Western influences touched and coloured discretely in the beginning the pale faces of the saints, added slightly more substance to their ethereal bodies, scattered details of daily life, still purely conventional, over the composition, but did not disturb the general harmony of thought, feeling and style. Western patterns were new sources of inspiration absorbed by the Russian artist, although his interpretation was as different from the original as fruits are from their blossoms. The frescoes of Iaroslavl churches of the late XVII century are a vivid example of this period. The delirium of mystical fantasy in the murals which covered every spot inside the churches was copied from Piscator's illustration of the Calvinist Bible (Fig. 4). Iaroslavl's frescoes were the apotheosis, the last dream of a national religious art which was doomed to die. The reforms of Peter the Great shook Russia to its very roots. The Moskovite kingdom changed almost overnight into what was to become the Great Russian Empire. The beards, the

long brocaded robes were cut; the flood of reforms in its spontaneous movement washed away the negative sides of the past together with its national achievements. Thoughts, feelings, desires and longings, the very way of life, were all imported and nothing of the old times would fit the new frame.

The Church and the faith alone resisted Western influence, but most people lost the understanding of religious art. Compared with the masterpieces of Western art, with its classic proportions, picturesque landscape and carnal splendour, the icons seemed "barbaric" and "illiterate". The same "Manual", the same rules remained valid for the iconographer down to our day, but he had to meet half way the demand of his time. He introduced naturalistic traits into his painting, which were sufficient to disturb the mystic character of the icon; on the other hand, confined to the ancient traditions, the innovations were insufficient to change the religious art into a profane one. As a result of the compromise the new icon came to be deprived not only of its style and originality, but also of its sublime flight of pious imagination. The present study where the subjects of certain complex icons are analyzed attempts to indicate the sources of inspiration and to explain the symbolic meaning of Russian icon painting.

* * *

The composition of the *Last Judgment*¹ belongs to the cycle of complex icons; it is not only a visual demonstration of the supremacy of Christianity over heresy and

1. Terms of Greek-Orthodox Church for the *Last Judgment*: *Parusia*, *Vtoroe Prishestvie*, *Strashnyi Sud*, *I'semirnyi i Strashnyi Sud*, *Den' Suda*, *Epifania*.



FIG. 4. — XVII CENTURY MURALS. — Church of St. Elias, Jaroslavl, Russia.

paganism, but also an educational image for Christians which gives directives to their conduct. Simeon Logothete ascribes the conversion of prince Boris of Bulgaria in the IX century to the impression made upon him by the image of the *Last Judgment* painted by Methodius on the wall of his palace. The legend^{1a} describes how, a century later, prince Vladimir of Russia, influenced by the representation of the punishment and agony which pagans and sinners would endure after death, brought Christianity to Russia. Even if the legend, controverted by historians², is pure invention, it nevertheless shows the important moral significance ascribed to this image³. The substantial elements of the composition were taken almost word for word from the Scriptures, but the vivid detailed works of the Fathers of the Church, describing their visions of the Last Day, facilitated the task of illustration. Works of Euphrem of Syria (IV century) and Gregory the Monk⁴ (X century) were the most popular for this subject.

Frescoes with the composition of the *Last Judgment* usually adorned the entrance of churches or refectories of monasteries (Mount Athos⁵). As a subject for icons, the composition was less often used. It is so encumbered with details that even on the smallest images there are not less than four hundred figures, the number of which increase with the centuries (Figs. 5, 6 and 7). The principal figure is Jesus Christ, the Judge, in full glory (Fig. 8), seated on a throne⁶ or a cloud⁷, with "whirling fiery wheels"⁸ (Fig. 9), (from Ezekiel's vision) at His feet and the "tetramorpha"⁹ (Fig. 10) around Him (tetra — four, morph — form, four symbols of the Evangelists in one image, representing the unity of the four Gospels). The "fiery wheels" are interlocked vermilion circles with wings and eyes symbolizing the swift omnipresence and omniscience of the Diety. They belong, almost throughout the whole course of Eastern Christian art, to various representations of the enthroned Jesus Christ, and are not specific symbols of the Last Judgment¹⁰. At the top of the image two angels roll up the "scroll" of heaven¹¹. The encircled

1a. V. MOCHULSKII, *Istor. — Liter. Analiz Stikha "Golubinoi Knigi"*, Warsaw, 1887, p. 194.

2. K. IRECEK, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Praha, 1876, S.153; E. GOLUBINSKII, *Kratkii ocherk Istorii Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi*, Moscow, 1871, p. 227-228.

3. N. V. POKROVSKII, *Strashnyi sud v Pamiatnikakh Vizantiiskago Iskusstva*, Odessa, 1887, p. 297 (Tzar Boris I, 852-882) *Stoglavyi Sobor*, Moscow 1551.

4. F. I. BUSLAEV, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, St. Petersburg, 1908-1910, II p. 140; *Siiskii Ikonopisnyi Podlinnik*, I, 1895, p. 40-43 (Publ. by N. V. POKROVSKII.)

5. N. P. KONDAKOV, *Pamiatniki Khrist. Iskusstva na Afonie*, St. Petersburg, 1902, p. 75-79.

6. Matthew XV, 31; Isaiah VI, 1; Ezekiel I, 13; Vision of Euphrem of Syria, see publication of *Mosk. Dukhovn. Akad.*, VII, 165.

7. Matthew XIV, 30.

8. Isaiah LXVII, 15; Ezekiel I, 16; X, 8-20.

9. Ezekiel I, 4-11. A. S. UVAROV, *Evangelie 1577, Izobrazhenie Evangelistov i ikh Simvolov*, 1907. The symbols were explained by St. Augustin as follows: Christ assumed the human nature (man), He conquered the foe (lion), was sacrificed (ox) and ascended to heaven (eagle). In contrast to Ezekiel's vision the Christian emblems of the "four Creatures" have each only one face. The verbal forms of their names are found in the monastic art of Cappadocia, see: G. DE JERPHANION, *Les Eglises de Cappadoce*, Paris 1924-1931, vol. I, pl. 3. H. E. WILLOUGHBY, *Day McCormick Apocalypse*, Chicago 1940, vol. I, p. 104-105. In 1722 the Holy Synod of Russia prohibited the picture of the symbols without the images of the Evangelists.

10. "Obshchestvo Liubitelei Drevnei Pismennosti", # XCIX, pl. on p. 182.

11. Isaiah XXXIV 4.



FIG. 5. — XVI CENTURY. — The Last Judgment. — Collection C. Hamilton, New York.
Census of Early Christian and Byzantine Art in the U. S. and Canada, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D. C.

sun and the moon face each other in profile. The sun, according to Isaiah, is painted in dark colour¹². "Heaven" is represented in three different ways: as the blue firmament¹³ it is a scroll, the old world of planets which will be destroyed; as the dwelling of God¹⁴ it encloses the upper part of the image with angels, saints and prophets, and as the felicity of the just¹⁵ it presents several symbolic images of paradise. Angels, scattered all over the composition, take an active part in the performance of the judgment. They confront the demons, and blow trumpets¹⁶ calling all nations to the judgment. Some of them have a kind of lance or golden reed in their hand, known as "measures"¹⁷ and used, according to the Scriptures, to measure the City of Jerusalem, the "Heavenly City", the wall of which is the symbol of Jesus Christ. Two rows of angels headed by archangels Gabriel and Michael, with bowed heads and hands covered with cloths as a sign of special veneration, approach Christ on both sides.

The Holy Virgin and St. John the Precursor¹⁸ stand on each side of the Judge, pleading on behalf of all Christians. This part of the composition (Christ in the center with the Holy Virgin and St. John), is known in Christian iconography as "Deisis"¹⁹, which means "prayer", and belongs into the scheme of paintings prescribed by the Eastern Church as one of the most important subjects of the iconostas (Fig. 11).

In a number of compositions a man in poor clothes, the "One of the Least", stands at the side of Christ in accordance with the Gospel of Matthew²⁰: "Verily I say unto you inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least, ye did it not unto Me." Adam and Eve, prostrated at the feet of the Judge, pray for the entire world, according to the judgment of God pronounced upon the whole race as consequence of the fall of its representatives, the First Parents²¹. The twelve Apostles, as the greatest among all the saints, are enthroned in the upper row and perform the judgment with Jesus Christ²². St. Peter is at the right, with St. Paul, replacing Judas, at the left.

The "Book of Life"²³, with all deeds of men written in it, is placed upon the

12. Acts II, 21; Isaiah XXIV, 23; XIII, 10.

13. Isaiah XXXIV, 4.

14. Psalms CII, 19.

15. Matthew V, 3.

16. Isaiah XXVII, 13; Matthew XXIV, 30.

17. Zachariah II; Ezekiel XL, 3.

18. St. John the Precursor is placed higher than the other saints and prophets, as he saw Christ with his own eyes and baptized him; A. KIRPICHNIKOV, *Deisus* . . . in "Zhurnal Min. Narodn. Prosv.", 1893, November, p. 5.

19. AINALOV AND RIEDIN, *Freski Kievo-Sofijskago Sobora*, p. 48-49; A. KIRPICHNIKOV, *op. cit.*, p. 26; A. USPENSKII, *Perewody s Drevnikh Ikon Sobr. Gur'ianova*, Moscow 1902 p. 26; A. GRABAR, *Rospis Bachkovskago Mon.* in: "Inst. Arch. Bulg.", II, 1893, p. 20; N. P. KONDAKOV, *Ikonograf. G.N.I.Khz.* p. 61-63; S. USOV, *O Znachenii slova "Deisus"* in: "Drevnosti. Trudy Mos. Im. Arkheol. Obshch." XI, 3, p. 53-59; V. PROKHOROV, *Khristianskii Drevnosti* 1875, p. 64-66; SAKHAROV, *Eskhalogicheskiiia Sochineniia*, Tula, 1879.

20. Matthew XXV, 27-28.

21. I Cor., XV, 22, 45.

22. Matthew XIX, 27-28; John XIV, 2-4.

23. Luke X, 20; Daniel XII, 4; VII, 11; Isaiah XXIX, 11; Exodus XXXII, 32.



FIG. 6. — XVII CENTURY. — The Last Judgment, part of an icon. — Collection Boris A. Bakhmeteff, New York. *Census of Early Christian and Byzantine Art in the U. S. and Canada, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D. C.*

"Prepared Throne", called "Etimasia"²⁴, which symbolizes the invisible but real presence of God. This emblem originated from an ancient custom of the Eastern Church to expose the Gospel during great festivals on a special altar²⁵. The churches of Jerusalem on such occasions added the instruments of Passions²⁶ to the Gospel; therefore on some compositions of the *Last Judgment* the instruments are placed on the "Etimasia" with the Gospel and a small vessel containing the Sacred Blood. The "Hand of God"²⁷, with the scales²⁸ and the souls of the just in its palm, appears under the "Etimasia" and symbolizes God's presence, power, authority; it also represents paradise with "the souls of the just rejoicing in the right hand of God"²⁹. A "River of Fire"³⁰ (later changed into a serpent) flows from the throne of the Judge into hell. The river is the first trial submitted to the sinners. Groups of patriarchs and prophets with King David, Melhisedek, Samuel, Aaron, Zacharius, Daniel and others are assembled in chronological or hierarchic

order. Saints³¹ and martyrs also stand in rows on the right side of the Judge.

Peoples of various nations³², headed by Jews, await judgment on the left side of Christ. In Byzantine composi-



FIG. 7. — XVII CENTURY. — The Last Judgment, icon. — St. Nicholas Monastery, Moscow.

24. Psalms IX, 8; 38: LXIV, 9; LXXXVIII, 14; Epistle of St. Paul VI, 15; Matthew XXIV, 30.

25. N. P. KONDAKOV, *Ikono-grafia Gospoda Nashego I. Khr.*, 1905, p. 78. According to Cyril of Alexandria, the Gospel exposed on a special throne at the Council of Ephesus, meant that the Saviour Himself presided at the Assembly.

26. The "Etimasia" with the instruments of Passions symbolizes the presence of Christ as God.

27. Proverbs of Solomon III, 16.

28. Daniel V, 27; Job XXXI, 6.

29. Psalms CXXXVIII, 7.

30. Daniel VII, 9. The "River of Fire" was mentioned in a description of the composition of the *Last Judgment* in an epistle attributed to St. John Damascene (754-787). The "River of Fire" was preserved in Illuminations of Russian MSS.

31. I. Cor. VI, 2.

32. Daniel VII, 2; Isaiah LII, 10; Ezekiel XXXIX, 21; Matthew XXIV, 30; XXV, 31; F. I. BUSLAEV, *Poln. Sobr. Soch.*, St. Petersburg 1908, II, p. 367.



FIG. 8. — The Saviour in Glory. — Formerly Collection N. Likhachev, Moscow.

tions the "Nations" are usually represented by groups of people of local importance, mostly heretics³³, such as Arians, Nestorians and others. Moses, second prophet after Abraham, accuses the terrified Jews, explains their error and designates Christ as their

33. II Peter II, 17.

34. Daniel VII, 3-28. The earliest illustration shows the kings seated on animals, later compositions have the animals alone.

35. Daniel VI, 16; Apocrypha: Story of Bell and the Dragon. In Russian iconography this composition appears as an independent subject (Icon in the church of St. Spiridon in Moscow); *Slovo Sv. Ippolita Rimskago ob Antikhrisite* (III century) see: *Drevnosti. Trudy Slav. Commissii, Mosk. Arkh. Obsch.* vol. III, Moscow 1912.

Judge (a typical detail of Eastern Iconography, while in Western compositions Moses points out our Lord to all nations in general). An angel reveals to Daniel the end of the world and the forthcoming events, and shows the "Four Beasts"³⁴: a griffon, a winged lion, a bear and an animal with horns, which symbolize the future kingdoms of Macedonia, Babylon, Rome and the Kingdom of the Antichrist. Daniel is represented once more in the "Den of Lions" where, according to his description, he was thrown by King Darius and saved by angels³⁵; this image



FIG. 9. — The Whirling Fiery Wheels, Abraham's Revelation.



FIG. 10A. — XI CENTURY. — The Tetramorpha, frescoes. — Kiev.

is the emblem of the Passions and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

On the left side of the composition the sea and earth "give up their dead". Sometimes the sea and the earth are personified by crowned women or by a man riding a lion (antique symbols), or sometimes as a rectangle filled with trees and animals, surrounded by the great river "Oceanus", which teems with fish (influence of *Cosmos Indicopleutes IX*

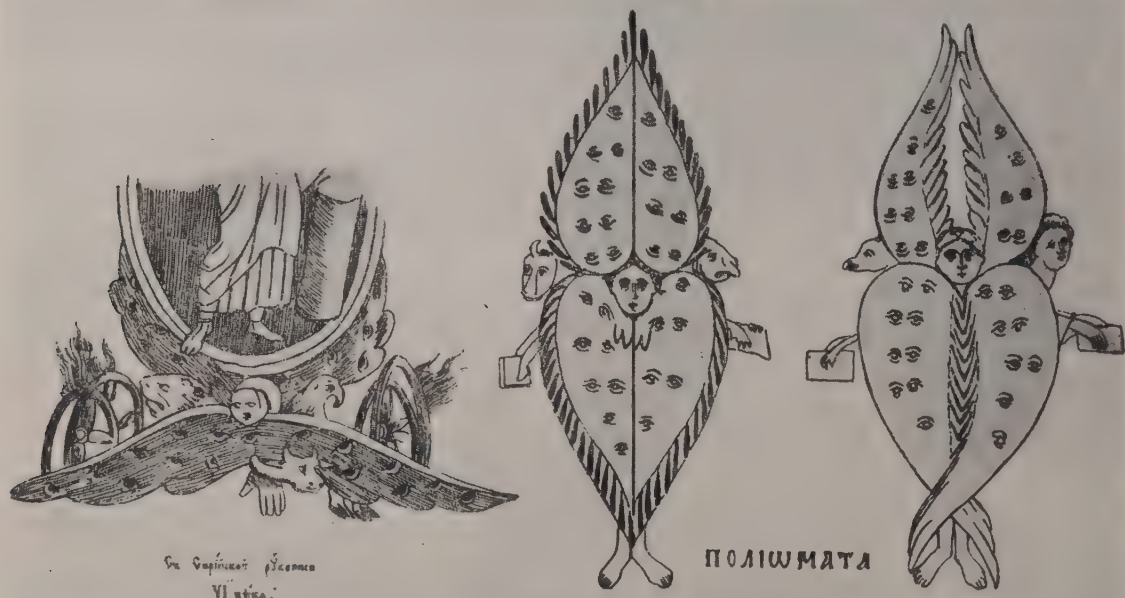


FIG. 10B. — XI CENTURY. — The Tetramorpha, frescoes. — Kiev.

to X century). The earth and sea literally "give up their dead": not only the men resurrected from their graves³⁶, but parts of human bodies³⁷, which had been devoured by animals. Sinners are tortured and driven by demons into hell³⁸. According to the scriptures, hell is in the core of the earth like an abyss into which the wicked descend; therefore it is placed under the image of earth and sea. It is like a furnace³⁹, with Satan in the middle⁴⁰ devouring the sinners and caressing Judas⁴¹ the betrayer.

36. John V, 29; I Cor., XV, 51, 52.

37. Ezekiel XXXVII, 1-13; Euphrem of Syria's vision.

38. Matthew XVIII, 9.

39. Matthew XIII, 42; Psalms XXI, 8-11.

40. Isaiah XV, 12-15.

41. Gregory the Monk, *Life of Basil the Young and his Slave Theodora*, see "Minei Chetii", 1829, March 26, p. 125-139.

Two pictures of Paradise are placed, not at the upper part of the composition, but opposite hell to emphasize their antithesis. Paradise, a name given in Christian tradition to the Garden of Eden, the home of the First Parents, has in the New Testament the new significance of the future place of felicity after death. In the composition of the *Last Judgment* Paradise is represented by two images⁴²: a garden⁴³ with the Virgin, and "Abraham's Bosom"⁴⁴. In the first the enthroned Holy Virgin, surrounded by trees and flanked by two angels, is pictured alone, without the Christ Child, which represents her



FIG. 11. — XI CENTURY. — Deisis, iconostas. — Cathedral of St. Sophia, Novgorod.

ascension to Paradise after death⁴⁵. Her hands are poised according to the words of the Psalm⁴⁶: "Oh, clap your hands all ye peoples, shout unto God with the voice of triumph". The circle surrounding the image symbolizes the heavenly glory. The other image of Paradise is "Abraham's Bosom" (Fig. 12) showing Abraham, Isaac and Jacob with the soul of Lazarus, and occasionally with other souls⁴⁷ on their laps. The expression "Abraham's Bosom" may be derived from the special honor of reposing on the bosom of the master of the feast, as did St. John at the Last Supper, and also from the feeling of security of children on the bosom of loving parents. The just are lead by St. Peter through the gates of paradise to

42. John XIV, 2.

43. Genesis II, 7; Life of St. Perepetua. Paradise is a word of Persian origin and signifies a royal park.

44. Luke XVI, 22-23; FRANCIS GIGOT, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, V, 56; John XIII, 23.

45. A. GRABAR, *Rospis Bachk. Mon.* in: "Inst. Arch. Bulg." II, 1923, p. 20; N. P. KONDAKOV, *Ikongrafia Bozh. Materi*, vol. I, St. Petersburg 1914.

46. Psalm XLVII; M. AND V. USPENSKIE, *Zamietki o Drevne-Russkom Ikonopisanii*, St. Petersburg 1901 p. 52.

47. Matthew VIII, 11. "Abraham's Bosom", symbolizing Paradise appears as an independent composition (A chiseled metal medallion of the collection of Dr. E. de Savitsch). The Russian proverb: "to feel secure like on Christ's bosom" could derive from this notion.

eternal felicity. Sometimes the gates are guarded by archangel Michael, sometimes by a fiery Cherubim⁴⁸. The "Good Thief"⁴⁹, according to Christ's promise, is the first to enter. Between paradise and hell an angel tells a monk of the sad destiny of a "Charitable Sinner"⁵⁰, who is shown tied to a pillar. He is deprived of paradise because of adultery, but saved from hell by his charity.

It should be noted that the Apocalypse (Revelation of St. John the Apostle), largely used in Western Iconography for the composition of the *Last Judgment*, was not accepted in Eastern Iconography for a long period. Although recognized by the Church in the II and III centuries as a genuine work of St. John the Apostle, the tendency to exclude the Revelation from the list of sacred books arose in the Greek East in the IV century⁵¹. Up to the XVI century images of the

Apocalypse were not admitted into the scheme of paintings assigned for the decoration of the Greek Orthodox Church, and the eschatological details of the frescoes representing the *Last Judgment* in the church of St. George of Mistra (XIV century) are based on the Old Testament and not on the Apocalypse⁵².

The Russian iconographer followed strictly the ancient traditions of the composition and preserved them up to the XVI-XVII century; later he introduced some changes and supplementary images.

* * *



FIG. 12. — XV CENTURY. — Abraham's Bosom, chiselled medallion. — Collection Dr. Eugene de Savitsch, Washington, D. C.

No matter how much the Russian artist tried to embellish the heavenly part of the *Last Judgment* by adding more flowers and more angels, his imagination seemed to have been fas-

cinated by the part of the composition in which the endless variety of sins and punishments gave him the possibility of illustrative warnings against the vicious activity of demons. His attitude toward the devil is not without that touch of irony typical of Russian art and literature from the earliest legends to such authors as Gogol and Dostoievsky.

In Russian religious art it is always the devil who is beaten by a club, dragged by the hair and chased away. His thin, dark and naked body, his long shaved face and his hair always brushed high in a ridiculous way, makes his general appearance

48. Genesis III, 22.

49. Luke XXIII, 43.

50. Gregory the Monk, Life of Basil the Young. . . .

51. *The History of the Church by Eusebius*, transl. by REV. G. CUSHMAN, Oxford, p. 144.

52. G. MILLET, *Monuments Byzantins de Mistra*, Paris 1910, pl. 64.

more ludicrous than frightful. In the representation of the *Last Judgment* the tiny black demons with hooks in their hands resemble annoying flies, rather than demoniacal creatures. But Satan, their king and master, is big and fat and dangerous. In Hebrew, Satan means "adversary" or "accuser"; Christ calls him "Prince of the World". In contrast to the angels, whose wings in shape and colour symbolize peace and light, Satan and all the demons have the wings of a bat⁵³, and their bodies are red or black. Satan rides a double-headed monster; the monster is vomiting a serpent, which in Russian compositions replaces the Byzantine "River of Fire". The hideous body of the serpent, formed



FIG. 13. — Punishment of the Sinner. — From the manuscript: *Slovo o Zachatii Pustyni Diedovskago Ostrova*.



FIG. 14. — Punishment of the Sinner. — From the manuscript: *Slovo o Zachatii Pustyni Diedovskago Ostrova*.

by twenty dark and twenty light circles⁵⁴, creeps from hell to the throne of the Judge, its winged head licking Adam's foot, as Adam is the source of original sin. Small demons are sent out by Satan to watch the judgment and the sins of man which are put on the scales. One after the other they trample on the serpent's body.

A naked figure, representing a soul awaiting its fate, stands under the scales, while a demon tries to outweigh the left side of the scales with sins, but an angel watches and the right side of the scales is lowered symbolizing the salvation of the soul by good deeds remembered by

53. *Beitraege zur Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1882 no. VII, p. 23.

54. Gregory the Monk, *Life of Basil the Young*...

the angel. Sometimes, on the contrary, the lowered scale represents the weight of mortal sins.

Although capital sins were specified by St. Gregory in the IV century as seven, namely: pride, avarice, gluttony, lust, sloth, envy and anger, they became much more numerous in Byzantine Iconography. In Russian Iconography, in accordance with the Gospel of Matthew⁵⁵: "And I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment" their number increased endlessly. Sloth, lust, swearing, adultery, treachery, falsehood, avarice, pride, gluttony, anger, dispraise, drunkenness, envy, cruelty, debauchery and many others are pictured under the features of the torments which they deserve. Several rows of human tortured bodies illustrate the sins: (Figs. 13, 14 and 15) the slanderer hanged by the tongue, the thief by the leg, the cruel ruler devoured by worms, the avaricious with molten silver poured down his throat, the adulterer hanged by the spine, the dancer by the navel⁵⁶. Even monks do not escape downfall and punishment. The fate of sinful monks is illustrated by the image called *Ladder of Paradise* (Ioann Liestvichnik⁵⁷), a very popular composition

based upon the sermon known as *Klimax*, written by John Climacus (Scolasticus), abbot of the Mt. Sinai monastery, as a guide for the spiritual perfection of his monks. The image consists of a ladder with monks climbing toward heaven. Demons are dragging fallen monks into the open mouth of a monster⁵⁸ which represents hell. Other winged monks, "souls of the just"⁵⁹ who personify three or more saints (Antonius, Theodisius, Sergius of Radonezh, Sabba and

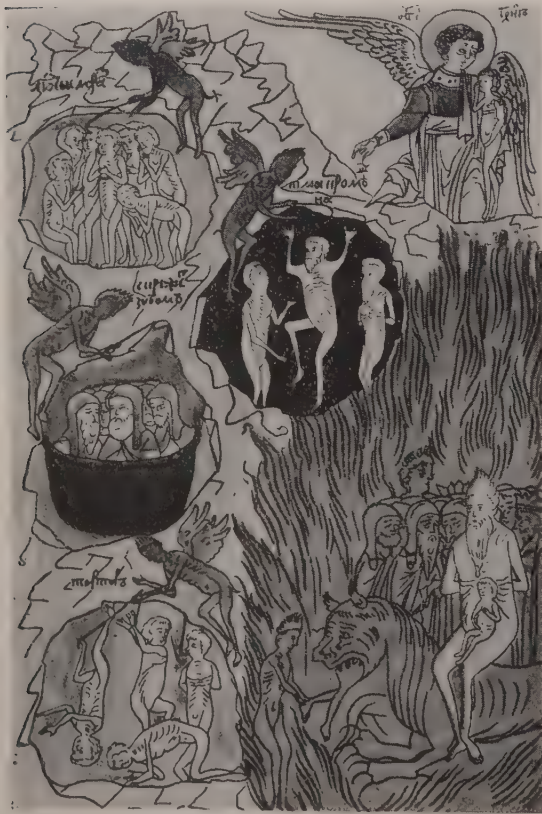


FIG. 15. — Punishment and Hell, illumination. — From the Synodic of the Koliasnikov Church.

55. Matthew XII, 36.

56. POKROVSKII, *Strashnyi Sud*, pp. 324 and 325; Cyril of Alexandria about the *Last Judgment*; *Khozhdenie B. M. po Mukam*, see: KUSHELEV-BEZBORODKO, *Pam. Star. Russ. Liter.*, St. Petersburg 1862, vol. III, p. 118-127; St. Petersburg 1860, vol. I, p. 209; *Obshch. Liubitelei Drev. Pism*, no. XIII pl. 33-42; *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, see: M. SPERANSKII, *Malo Izvestnoe Vizantiiskoe Vidienie*, in "Byzantino-Slavika", vol. III, p. 100-133, Praha, 1931.

57. F. I. BUSLAEV, *Poln. Sobr. Sochinenii*, St. Petersburg 1908, vol. I, p. 14.

58. Hell pictured as jaws of a monster appears in Russian iconography in the XIV century, see: POKROVSKII, *Evangelie v Pamiatnikah Iconografii*, 1892, p. 415.

59. "The Souls of Just" as winged monks, described in the *Manual of Novgorod*, appear as an independent subject, but is quite unusual. An icon of this composition is in the collection of Mr. John Russell, Washington, D. C.



FIG. 16. — The "Cynocephali". — From *Alexandria*, legend about Alexander of Macedonia.

John the Sinaite), form a graceful group flying into paradise. St. John Climacus is shown in the picture preaching to his monks. The *Ladder of Paradise* is very popular as an independent composition in Russian Iconography and belongs along with the *Last Judgment* to the same cycle of educational images.

Among other supplementary pictures is an image, called *Words of an Elder*⁶⁰ (*Slovo o Starchestvie*), and another *Exit of a Soul* (*Iskhod Dushi*). The first consists of two parts: one represents the peaceful end of Lazarus on his death bed, with an angel withdraw-

ing his soul painlessly through his lips, while King David plays the harp at his side; the other shows the rich man surrounded by three servants, while an angel strikes him with a lance and a demon withdraws his soul painfully through his ribs. The *Exit of a Soul* represents an open grave with the remains of a human body, and priests performing the special service for the dead. This picture was inspired by *The Life beyond the Grave*, attributed to Cyril of Tur (XII century). The story reads: "When a priest prays the Lord to give a place of peace to the soul the guardian angel is happy and rises to heaven". Folklore inspired the picture *Truth and Falsehood* (*Pravda and Krivda*⁶¹), which is found on some Russian compositions. It shows the struggle



FIG. 17. — XVI-XVII CENTURY. — Scarlet Woman. — *Babylon the Great*.

60. E. ROVINSKII, *Russ. Narodn. Kartinki*, St. Petersburg 1881, vol. III; N. SUBBOTIN, *Materialy dlia Istorii Raskola*, vol. V; BUSLAEV, *op. cit.*, I, p. 368.

61. *Golubinaia Kniga, Razgovor Kn. Vladimira s Tsarem, Davidom*, see: *Kristomatiia k Opytu Istor. Obozrenia Russ. Slovesnosti*, St. Petersburg 1866, p. 290-294. V. MOCHULSKII, *op. cit.*, Warsaw, 1887 p. 199-234; "Mincii-Cherii", vol. XIX, 66.

of the two personified by human beings and the triumph of Truth over Falsehood.

On Byzantine compositions, the "Nations" awaiting judgment are of local importance, while the Russian compositions represent those with whom Russia had contact, was at war or was acquainted through legends. The names depended on the period of time to which the picture belongs. They are: Jews, Lithuanians, "Blue Arabs", Hindoos, Ishmalites, "Cynocephali", Turks, Saracens, Poles, Armenians, Russians, "Crimeans", Hellenists, Agarians, Kalmouks, Laplanders, Zhmoedens, "Kizilbashis" and Germans⁶². The appearance of Hindoos is, for example, inspired by the legend of Barlaham and Joseph, prince of India; Arabs were known because of the trade which sprang up between them and the Russians in the VII century and flourished in the IX and X centuries⁶³. In ancient Russia, all heresy was called German, Latin and "Hellenistic", "busurman" or "unorthodox"; the "Cynocephali" seemed to be inspired by the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodius⁶⁴, or by a medieval legend, very popular in Russia, about Alexander of Macedonia meeting men with dog heads (Fig. 16). Kizilbashs are Persians (Kizil-red, Bash-hat, the red hat of the King of Persia)⁶⁵.

In the XVI and XVII centuries the cycle of a very popular medieval legend called "Christ the Pilgrim"⁶⁶ (Figs. 6, 7) was introduced in the composition of the *Last Judgment*. It consists of several medallions with Christ returning from earth to heaven and approaching the enthroned Father, near whom the Son's place has been prepared. On the other side of the center medallion, God the Father gives His blessing to Jesus and sends Him back for the Second Advent. On some compositions the legend is abbreviated to only its first part.

From the XVII century on, the Apocalypse came into its own in Russian Ico-nography as an independent subject for frescoes and icons — and some images such as *Babylon the Great*⁶⁷, symbol of Imperial Rome, were also introduced into the composition of the *Last Judgment*. Babylon is represented by a *Scarlet Woman* seated on a seven-headed animal with a crown on each head (Fig. 17). The seven heads are supposed to be the seven hills of Rome and the crowns are the seven impious kings — King Domitian to King Diocletian, all persecutors of the Church.

Through the XVIII and XIX centuries the general scheme of the composition remained almost the same, but under the influence of the time, realistic details were introduced to such an extent that on one of the icons of this period Peter the Great can be recognized among the sinners in hell⁶⁸.

NATHALIE SCHEFFER.

62. F. I. BUSLAEV, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 135, vol. II, p. 367.

63. N. OVSIANNIKOV, *Illianie Moskvy i Novgoroda na Tver*, in: "Proceedings of the Congress in Tver", Tver 1906, part II, p. 51.

64. M. A. JAMES, *The Trinity College Apocalypse*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 7.

65. V. MOSHULSKII, *op. cit.*, Warsaw, 1887, p. 95.

66. N. P. KONDAKOV, *Ikonog. Gosp. Na. I. Khr*, pl. 36; MATSULEVICH, *Khronologiya Reliefov Dimitrievskago Sobora*, Petersburg 1922, p. 280.

67. Revelation VII, 4-17; XIV, 8.

68. Fresco of the XVIII century, see: A. I. USPENSKII, *Tsarskie Ikonopistsy*, vol. IV p. 261, Moscow 1916.



ROMANTIC CLASSICISM IN ARCHITECTURE

FOR a dozen years at least, students on the firing line of advanced thought have recognized in conversation that the classicism of the XVIII and XIX centuries was itself, from the beginning, a phase of the larger movement of Romanticism. Nonetheless, so far as I know, this view has not yet been publicly emphasized nor given the formal demonstration which it requires and deserves.

This classicism of the XVIII and XIX centuries was not the first classicism of modern times. There had been two earlier classical movements, that of the XV and XVI centuries in Italy and under Italian influence, which we may call Renaissance classicism, and that of the XVII century in Holland, in England, and especially in France, which we may call academic classicism. We may illustrate these two phases, in their central manifestations, by the Tempietto of Bramante and by the colonnade of the Louvre. From these phases we may distinguish the third classical movement, the one we are discussing, as romantic classicism. It was but one of many aspects of Romanticism, if we understand Romanticism not narrowly as the philosophical movement in Germany about 1800, or the literary movement everywhere about 1830, but broadly as the whole novel mode of *feeling* — as distinguished from the rational thought of the Enlightenment — which came to dominate the later XVIII and XIX centuries, having its origins almost at their beginning, its persistence quite to their end.

We need not attempt here a definition of the elusive term Romanticism. It has meant many things to many men¹, yet we cannot doubt that in its broad common

1. A. O. LOVEJOY, *On the Discrimination of Romanticisms*, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1924, 241.

outlines it has been the differentia of the modern age, a movement of which the characteristic phenomena of the worship of nature, of the idea of progress, of nationalism in politics, of the concepts of evolution in science, of creation in art are all emanations².

Certainly among these typical emanations are two, closely related and very much to our purpose: the breakdown of academism with its belief in a single ideal perfection of form which might be embodied in codified rules, and the endeavor to reconstruct historically and imaginatively the distinctive life and art of peoples remote in time or space, with the relativity of their varied ideals.

Romanticism, as an English word, is one first appearing about 1840, to characterize the distinctive qualities of a school in literature, art and music—the “romantic school.” Romantic had first meant, in the XVII century, having to do with romance, fabulous, imaginary, imaginative, fantastic. Addison—who, in spite of his academism, was himself also a pioneer in what we call romanticism—used the word romantic, at the beginning of the XVIII century, in the sense of redolent with romance, appealing to the imagination and feelings. Early in the XIX, a definite antithesis was remarked, as by Byron, citing the literary struggles in England and Germany, between the classic and the romantic schools in literature and art—the former supposedly conforming to the style or rules of Latin and Greek antiquity, to clarity of thought, symmetry, and repose, the latter relying on the enthusiasm of what Thomson’s *Seasons* in 1726-1730 and Goethe’s *Werther* in 1774 called “the feeling heart,” and giving its allegiance not to antiquity but to nature.

Partly by rhetorical contrast, partly by artistic reaction favored by Northern nationalisms, the idea of Romanticism was soon equated with the *bêtes noires* of classicism: with the art of the Middle Ages, with the irregular, the dynamic. This was the narrower sense. In a broader sense, however, Romanticism would embrace also a sentimental enthusiasm even for the antique, as itself, like the Middle Ages, far away and long ago.

While Romanticism in the narrower sense has been thought of particularly as German, or in the broader sense as English, we know today that its roots as a literary movement extend back into the Italy of the XVII century, and some of its fundamental ideas were codified in the *Scienza nuova* of Vico, first appearing in 1725, in which he laid down the principle of historical relativity and evolution—thus undermining the absolute worship of a single academic, classical canon. It was almost at the same moment that Shaftesbury had from another side undermined the dominance of symmetry by his admiration of wild nature in his *Moralists* of 1709, and of academic rule by stressing in his *Characters*, published in 1711, that the essence of art lies not in imitation but in creation.

An embodiment of such a view in formative art first took place in the England

2. Cf. his *The Great Chain of Being*, 1936, chapter X, especially pp. 293-294.

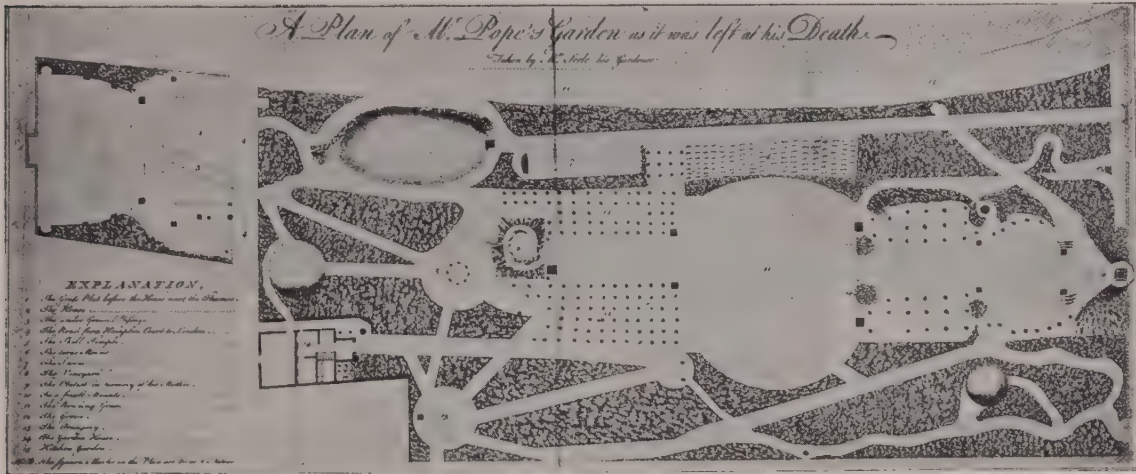


FIG. 1. — Plan of Pope's garden at Twickenham.

of the XVIII century, then taking world leadership in science and philosophy as well as in politics, war and economics. It came at first not in the established arts of painting and sculpture, but in the art of gardening, and in architecture as an accessory to gardening. It was the landscape garden, the *jardin anglais*, which was the greatest of English artistic inventions, and it was in connection with such informal or romantic gardens that first appeared, simultaneously, architectural works not only of Romantic mediaevalism but of Romantic classicism. The appearance of both was very early in the XVIII century, much earlier than most Continental students of Romanticism generally have been apt to realize.

The vogue of the landscape garden, the informal garden or *jardin anglais*, as has been recognized, was "the thin edge of the wedge of Romanticism" in art. The idea of it, foreshadowed by the essays of Addison in 1710 and 1712, of Pope in 1713, was haltingly embodied by Pope himself in the grounds of his villa at Twickenham, after 1719. This was far from being yet a fully informal garden. As shown in Searle's engraved *Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden as it was left at his Death* (that is, in 1744), there were still straight walks and allées flanked by multiplied parallel rows of trees (Fig. 1). The novelty was but timid, in the laying out of the center lines of the two principal allées, in the same general direction, so that they do not coincide, and the placing, off center of their vistas, of the features — mount, statues, and so on — which terminate these allées.

Vanbrugh, with his dramatic trend, though he followed the grand style of formal garden design for the major features of his country seats, was the first to give picturesque treatment to some parts of these great layouts. At Castle Howard, the grove known as Wray Wood and other outlying features, such as the mown walk along its southern side, escaped from regularity. At Claremont, a high wooded hill, intruding very close to the house and eccentric to the general scheme,

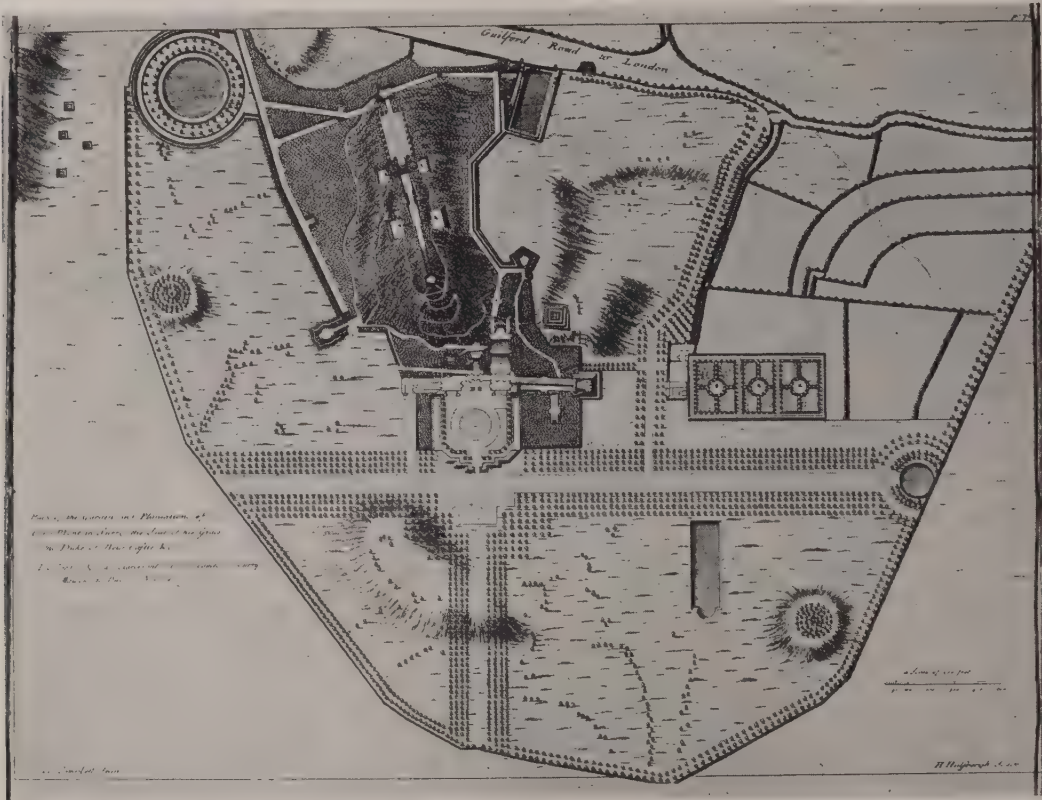


FIG. 2. — Plan of the garden at Claremont.

was not merely tolerated but exploited with a battlemented Belvedere approached by winding paths (Fig. 2). Already in the *Explanation of the Plates* of the third volume of the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, published in 1725, Colin Campbell writes: "The Situation being singularly romantick, and from the high Tower has a most prodigious fine Prospect."

It was William Kent, however, who, in a famous phrase of Walpole, "leaped the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden." Actually Kent climbed the fence rather than leaped: his own first steps were confined and tentative. Returning in 1719 from Italy, where he had gone under the Earl of Burlington's patronage, he was doubtless first employed by the Earl at Chiswick. The development of the garden there (Fig. 3) began in 1717 and thus preceded the building of the *Casino* (1727-1736); its earlier features were still formal and we cannot precisely date the later developments. A goose-foot of three straight walks evidently antedated the *Casino* — indeed one is terminated by the Palladian *Bagnio* which Campbell in 1725 termed "the first Essay of his Lordship's happy Invention, Anno 1717." It was Kent, as Walpole wrote, who adopted the principle that nature abhors a straight line. The boskets between the three formal allées were filled with walks

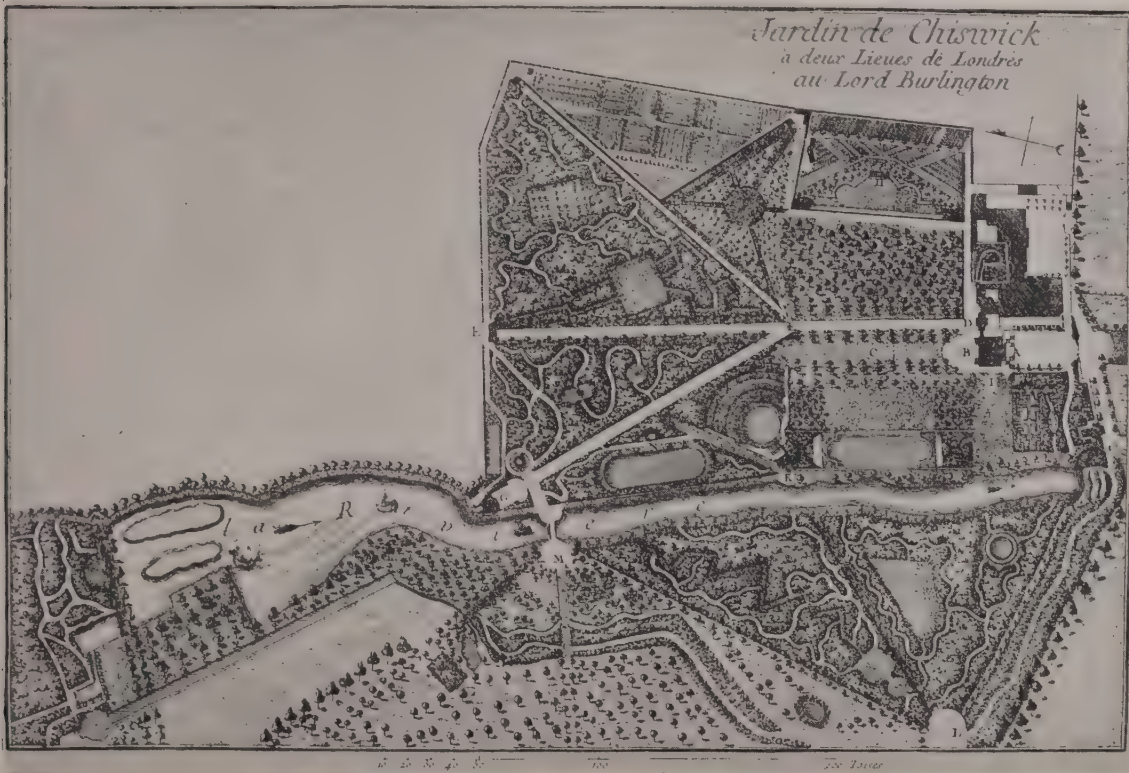


FIG. 3. — BURLINGTON. — Plan of the garden at Chiswick.

of such sinuosity as to justify the later French formula for laying out an English garden, "*Enivrez le jardinier et suivez dans ses pas.*" The river at Chiswick shares this sinuosity in less degree, but we can by no means be sure whether it was the first of such treatments.

That the landscape garden was an early embodiment of the worship of nature is obvious; less obvious and less remarked is its relationship to the broadened conception of history. Not less characteristic of the English garden than its picturesque and informal grouping of trees, rocks and water was, from the very beginning, its multitude of accessory structures and, likewise, from the very beginning, their variety of style. In the same gardens stood ruins, classical and mediaeval, pavilions supposedly Gothic soon joined by others supposedly Chinese, classical temples and Egyptian obelisks.

Vanbrugh first enlivened the picturesque parts of his gardens with structures of the sort, in the years before and after 1720³. In 1724 he was opposing anything of the "plain or Gothick sort" for a Belvedere near the house at Castle Howard and carrying the day for a "Temple" there which, with its dome and four small porticoes,

3. *English Homes*, period IV, volume II: *The Work of Sir John Vanbrugh and His School*, by H. AVRAY TIPPING AND CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY.



FIG. 4. — VANBRUGH. — Temple in the garden at Eastbury, about 1720.

is the earliest of British adaptations of Palladio's *Villa Rotonda*. At the very same moment, however, he was building for the "outworks" mediaeval walls with bastions and crenelated round towers, for the crown of which, he writes, "I have seen one . . . on the Walls of Chester, that I thought did extremely well."

Many of Vanbrugh's garden structures were of baroque cast, but they also included temples on ancient models. The first of all such proposals may well have been his "great Temple in the Gardens at Eastbury" (Fig. 4)⁴. The house and other works at Eastbury, Campbell says, were "all designed and executed by Sir John Vanbrugh, Anno 1718"; we cannot be sure whether this particular feature was actually drawn up for George Dodington, who died in 1720, or for his nephew the egregious George Bubb Dodington, who continued the development of the property. The "temple" is rather a temple front, an enclosed portico-in-antis with six Cor-

inthian columns and pilasters no less than three feet in diameter, crowned by a pediment of the full width, which gives it indeed a classic air.

By 1727, when it was included by Kent in his folio of *Designs of Inigo Jones* ("with some few Designs of Buildings by the Earl of Burlington") was designed the *Temple in the Garden at Chiswick* (Fig. 5) which constitutes Burlington's affirmation of a stricter classicism than that of his academic beginnings. It is a small version of the scheme of the Roman Pantheon, circular, with stepped, saucer dome and with a pedimented tetrastyle portico.

It was Vanbrugh's associate Hawksmoor, who had indulged Lord Carlisle by making "Gothick" studies for the Belvedere at Castle Howard, who in 1730 yielded to his Lordship's suggestion that the circular domed mausoleum there should be surrounded by a colonnade, so that it became doubtless the first peristylar temple in England.

Ruins, at first classical but soon also Gothic, were early included as features

4. Illustrated by CAMPBELL in: *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. III, 1725.

of the picturesque gardens. We cannot suppose that their employment did not precede the work of such a secondary compiler as Batty Langley, who illustrated several "after the old Roman manner" in his *New Principles of Gardening*, published in 1728. At Wanstead by 1735, to judge by Rocque's plate of that year, were an obelisk and a Roman arch in ruins.

The great exemplar of picturesque treatment of grounds and structures of varied styles was Stowe in Buckinghamshire, seat of Richard Viscount Cobham, whose memorial column there proudly reports, among his services to the State, that he "by a more elegant Cult of Gardens, in this spot first illustrated, adorned the land." The earlier buildings at Stowe are hard to date exactly, but a number of them are from designs of Vanbrugh who died in 1726. Seeley, who first published his *Description of Stowe* in 1766, names him as designer of the *Rotunda* (Fig. 6), which, with the similar one by Vanbrugh at Duncombe, is the first executed example in modern times of a classic monopteros of Vitruvius. Its open ring of ten angular-Ionic columns, sheltering a statue of Bacchus, was crowned with a high dome shown in Rigaud's engraving, one of the series of views of Stowe published in 1739 by Sarah Bridgeman, widow of the gardener active for Cobham there.

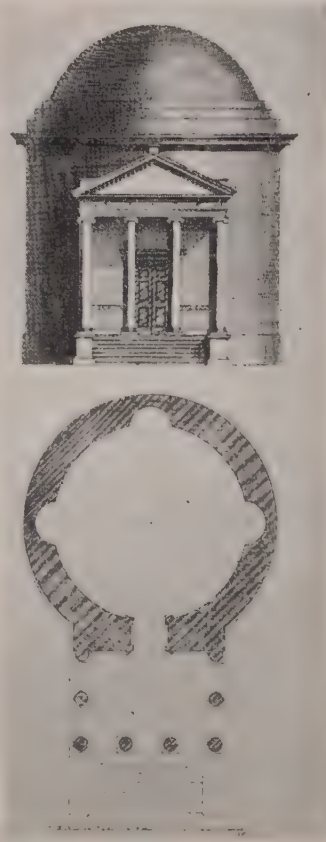


FIG. 5. — BURLINGTON. — Temple in the garden at Chiswick, about 1727.

By that year were in existence also at Stowe the first of several temples by Kent, justifying to this degree Walpole's remark, significant in its terms, that "we owe the restoration of Greece and the diffusion of architecture to his skill in landscape." The earliest was the *Temple of Ancient Virtue*, again circular, with a peristyle and a Roman dome (Fig. 7). It was not until after 1739 that were erected two buildings⁵ representing the polar opposites of romantic style: the Gothic Temple, with its three pentagonal towers, and Kent's *Temple of Concord and Victory* (Figs. 8 and 9), a rectangular temple wholly surrounded by free-standing columns. "Artificial ruins, of a temple of two river gods," a grotto — features earlier adopted elsewhere — were ultimately included, and the only element wanting was something Chinese, which could have been supplied from the gardens at Wroxton, Woburn, or Kew.

This very variety of romantic historicism at Stowe was later to call forth the reprobation of an apostle of intensified romantic naturalism, Rousseau, who contrasted Stowe with the simplicity of his imagined Elysée of Julie, free of all

5. Both appear on a plan of 1753 reproduced by B. SPRAGUE ALLEN, *Tides of English Taste*, II, fig. 70.

human structures:

*"Tel est, par exemple, le parc célèbre de mylord Cobham à Staw. C'est un composé de lieux très-beaux et très pittoresques dont les aspects ont été choisis en différents pays, et dont tout paroît naturel, excepté l'assemblage."*⁶

The garden at Kew was the perfect later English example of such eclectic Romanticism. Here William Chambers, soon to be knighted, built for the Princess of Wales in the years from 1760 not only classic temples to Pan, to Eolus and others, but a ruined Roman arch, a Chinese pagoda, a House of Confucius, a Gothic church, a mosque, and a supposedly Moorish building called the Alhambra.

It has been easy to suppose the appearance of the temple in English gardens to have been an outgrowth of academic architectural classicism. Certain indubitable relationships have lent color to this confusion. The movements of academic classicism and of romantic classicism overlapped in the same circle of men, and their essential differences of aim in respect to the temple have not previously been distinguished. When Colen Campbell in the first volume of his *Vitruvius Britannicus* showed a temple, "Prostile, Hexastile, Eustyle," it was, like all his designs, an illustration of academic canons and formulae. Burlington took his departure from the academism of Palladio, Jones, and Campbell, and was still academic in the *Bagnio* of 1717 at Chiswick, as he still was in the general form of the villa itself. But just as Kent in the details of the garden there was a pioneer in embodying the new romantic allegiance to nature, so Burlington in his later works was a pioneer in the new romantic conception of the classic, as when in the York Assembly Rooms (1730-1736) he adopted the form of the "Egyptian Hall" of Vitruvius.

The older academic classicism, at least in painting, was not without its romantic aspect, which was itself not uninfluential in the ultimate development of the later romantic classicism. The landscapes of the Bolognese academists and their great French disciples Poussin and Claude did indeed include structures from the hand of man, the temple and the mediaeval tower, both of these sometimes intact, sometimes ruinous, and ruined towers occur also in the paintings of Salvator Rosa. It has been customary to suppose that the initial inspiration for such architectural features of the landscape garden came from these painted landscapes. These artists were indeed recommended in the XVIII century as examples for gardeners, but not until after the scheme of garden and structures was well established. William Shenstone⁷, seems to have been the first to say, "I think the landscape painter is the gardener's best designer," anticipating the related remarks of William Mason, Walpole and Reynolds. We can scarcely, however, suppose this motive to have influenced Vanbrugh. Kent, who began as a painter, may indeed not have been unmindful of the temples appearing in the works of classical land-

6. *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*, 1759, part IV, letter XI.

7. In his *Unconnected thoughts on gardening*, included in the second volume of his works published in 1764.



FIG. 6. — VANBRUGH. — Rotonda at Stowe, before 1726, engraving.

scape, though it is quite equally possible that the admiration of Poussin and Claude in England, which rather followed than preceded the origins of the landscape garden, was nourished by the taste created by the gardeners.

The appearance of the classic temple in the landscape garden was thus as much the innovation of English Romanticism as the appearance of the Gothic and the Chinese pavilions, and equally represented the same sentimental interest in the distant in space or time.

This revival of the Roman classic temple antedated the foundation of the new science of archaeology by Caylus⁸. It was quite unrelated to the excavations at Herculaneum, from 1738, and at Pompeii, from 1748, which did not receive any publication before 1754 and then had little bearing on architecture. It was prior to the new wave of exploration in classic lands, which did not begin before 1750, with Soufflot's studies at Paestum, those of Leroy and of Stuart at Athens, those of Wood at Palmyra and Balbec, the publication of which were to be influential in later architectural developments.

The pioneer works of romantic classicism in architecture, we may remark, were designed either by artistic amateurs like Vanburgh or Burlington, essentially

8. Whose *Recueil d'antiquités Egyptiennes, Étrusques, Grecques et Romaines* began to appear in 1752.

unprofessional in their approach, or by such men as Kent, under Burlington's influence, who in architecture were out of their primary field. The professional architects, in general, did not go so far in abdicating to history or sentiment their creative responsibility for artistic form. They freely recombined elements of the antique vocabulary, and their buildings still preserve many traces of academic character.

On the Continent the artistic advent of Romanticism came also with the adoption of the English garden, bringing with it very soon, and simultaneously, structures classic, Gothic, and Chinese. Any small structures in the French formal garden, like Gabriel's *Pavillon de Jeux* at Trianon, of 1749-1750, had been of purely academic architectural character. The first French attempts at informality were halting: Montesquieu's English garden at La Brède about 1750 was little more than a minor "wilderness," and the *Moulin Joli* of Watelet⁹, whose *Essai sur les jardins* of 1760 was the manifesto of the style in France, was little more than a formal garden in conscious neglect, with bridges supposedly Dutch and Chinese. Boutin's little English garden in 1771, where the "river," Walpole said¹⁰, would be navigable by walnut shells, had a "Mount Olympus with a temple on it," which seems from Walpole's sketch to have been a monopteros. Two such examples, copied from those at Stowe and Kew, were built for Madame du Barry at Louveciennes in that year¹¹. At Ermenonville were not only a temple but the *Tour de Gabrielle* and the hut of Saint-Preux. On the unexecuted plan for a *jardin anglo-chinois* at the Petit Trianon, made by Antoine Richard for Marie Antoinette in 1774, were a pagoda, a kiosk, a *volière turque*, as well as a *Temple de Diane* not yet truly classical. When the garden there was finally executed, from 1778 onwards, by Mique and Hubert Robert, the classicism of the *Temple de l'Amour* was rivalled by the rusticity of the *Hameau*.

So, too, in the earliest important landscape garden in Germany, the park at Wörlitz, undertaken in 1769-1773, were very soon a Gothic house and a grotto, as well as a pedimented *Temple of Flora*. We see how completely the imitation of the classic temple, on the Continent as in England, was a manifestation of the romantic movement.

In the later phases of classic revival the romantic motives are less obvious but none the less traceable.

The initiative of Burlington and Kent in the revival of Roman forms was next taken up by Robert Adam, whose emphasis was on a more characteristic treatment of domestic interiors. For them he abandoned academic apparatus, substituting a version of the classical arabesque based on Roman interiors and their adaptations by Raphael and his school. Although there survive sketches by Adam

9. Cf. WALPOLE's description of it in 1775, *Letters*, TOYNBEE ed., IX, 241.

10. *Ibid.*, VIII, 65, 69.

11. KIMBALL, *Les influences anglaises dans la formation du style Louis XVI* in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", 6th per., V, 1931, 30-33.

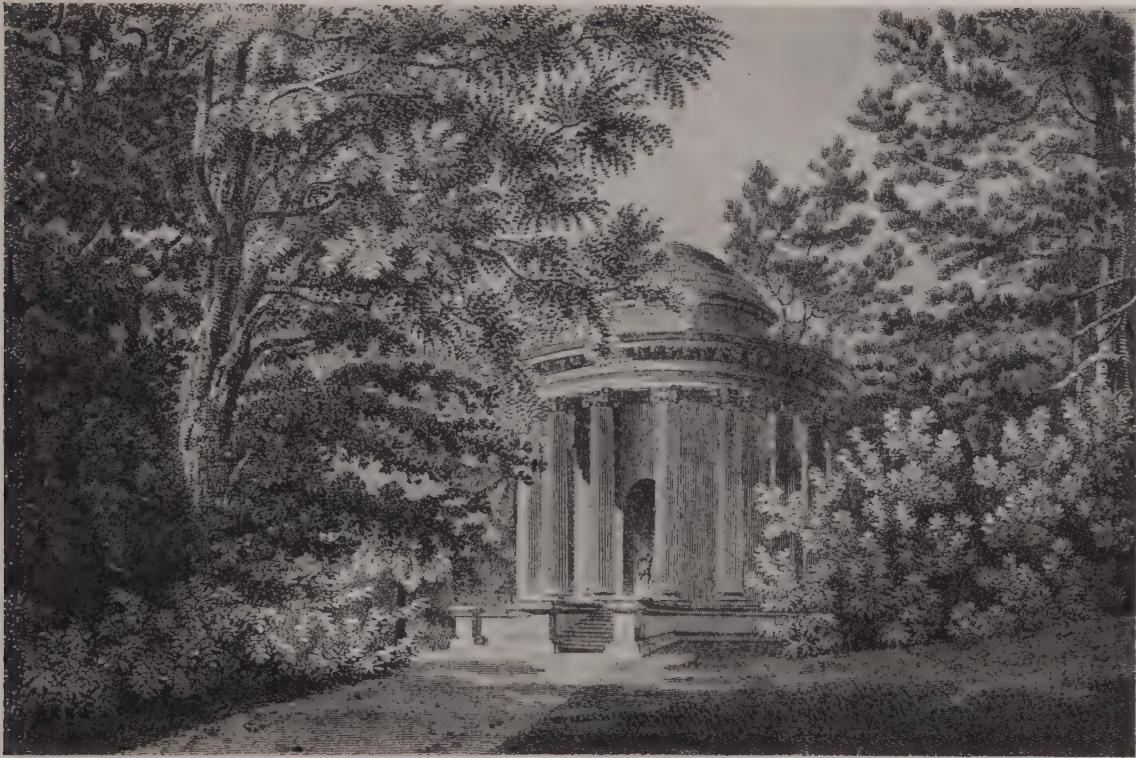


FIG. 7. — KENT. — Temple of Ancient Virtue at Stowe, before 1739.

for picturesque ruins and other garden features, his relation to the romantic movement is much less close and intimate than that of other leaders of the classic revival, and we are not surprised to find that the exteriors of his buildings often follow academic formulae.

This was true also of French buildings until well after 1760, indeed until the activity of just such men as Belanger and Ledoux, who had studied in England and were instrumental after 1770 in introducing gardens and garden structures on English models. The style of Louis XVI, thus inaugurated, was influential in Germany in the work of such men as Pigage, and was grafted also on the German baroque which had persisted there all through the rococo.

On the Continent we thus find the usual phenomena characteristic of an imported artistic movement: the overlapping, the compromise, the hybrids. It is actually only to such hybrids that one can apply the term "baroque classicism" invented by Siegfried Giedion¹². That he could limit the term "romantic classicism" to later work, around 1800 and after, such as that of Gilly and of Schinkel, more closely parallel to the work in England, was due to his nearsighted consideration of events in Germany. All classicism of the mid- and late XVIII century was in origin Romantic classicism, however mingled and diluted with

12. *Spätbarocker und romantischer Klassizismus*, 1922.

survivals from earlier styles.

The next great steps in romantic classicism were taken at a distance from the center of European developments but by one whom this distance did not keep from being extraordinarily abreast of them. Thomas Jefferson had acquired Shenstone's works in 1765, when he was but twenty-two, and under their influence, doubtless, had formed his first conception of building a "Hermitage" on the elevated summit to which his study of Italian was to give in 1767 the name of Monticello. By the following year he had taken decisive steps toward making this summit the site not merely of a hermitage but of his mansion house, itself then still academic in design — a romantic act without parallel in contemporary Europe. Before 1771, when he included them in a list of books recommended, he had read Rousseau's *Émile* and *Nouvelle Héloïse*. We shall not be mistaken in supposing him to have been deeply impressed by such a passage in the latter as Saint-Preux's description of the prospects near his mountain retreat:

"Tantôt d'immenses rochers pendaient en ruines au-dessus de ma tête. Tantôt de hautes et bruyantes cascades m'inondaient de leur épais brouillard. Tantôt un torrent éternel ouvrait à mes côtés un abîme dont les yeux n'osaient sonder la profondeur. Quelquefois je me perdais dans l'obscurité d'un bois touffu. Quelquefois, en sortant d'un gouffre, une agréable prairie rejoissait tout à coup mes regards."^{12a}

Long afterwards it was to be echoed unconsciously with even greater eloquence in a famous letter of Jefferson to Maria Cosway:

"And our own dear Monticello, where has nature spread so rich a mantle under the eye? Mountains, forests, rocks, rivers — with what majesty do we ride above the storms! How sublime to look down into the workhouse of nature, to see her clouds, hail, snow, thunder, all fabricated at our feet! And the glorious sun when rising as if out of a distant water, just gilding the tops of the mountains and giving life to all nature."^{12b}

By 1771 Jefferson had acquired the new manual of the landscape garden, Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening*, published the year previous. The fruits of his reading of it are embodied in proposals, written in his account book for 1771, for grottoes, cascades, temples, and inscriptions at Monticello. That the classic was but one aspect of these romantic proposals was evidenced by his saying of the temple at the spring, "the roof may be Chinese, Grecian, or in the taste of the Lantern of Demosthenes." Later, in 1804, he still proposed as garden temples "a specimen of Gothic, model of the Pantheon, model of cubic architecture, specimen of Chinese."

This was the man who in 1785 took the initiative in giving the form of a

^{12a}. Part I, letter XXIII.

^{12b}. *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. LIPSCOMB, V, 436-37.



FIG. 8. — KENT. — Temple of Concord and Victory at Stowe.

temple to a major building for practical use, the new Capitol for Virginia¹³. "We took for our model," he wrote to Madison, "what is called the *Maison quarrée* of Nismes, one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful and precious morsel of architecture left us by antiquity. It was built by Caius and Lucius Caesar, and repaired by Louis XV, and has the suffrage of all the judges of architecture who have seen it as yielding to no one of the beautiful monuments of Greece, Rome, Palmyra and Balbec which late travellers have communicated to us." We hear the enthusiast writing in terms which would appeal to fellow enthusiasts for the heroes of Plutarch, with whom the men of the Revolution, the Cincinnati, had identified themselves. It was indeed, as Jefferson later wrote, "a favorable opportunity of introducing into the State an example of architecture in the classic style of antiquity," that classic style to the establishment of which he continued to devote his efforts, — as in Monticello as remodelled, or as in the University of Virginia — but the very act of invoking for it "the approbation of fifteen or sixteen centuries" was a romantic one, as was the whole effort to implant it in a new continent.

This effort toward a literal revival of antiquity antedated the corresponding

13. KIMBALL, *Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classical Revival in America*, in: "Journal of the American Institute of Architects", III, 371-81, 421-34, 473-91, 1915.

efforts in Europe to gain the sanction of classical approval in the design of major buildings. Napoleon's *Temple of Victory*, for which he overrode professional judgment to force the adoption of the scheme we see realized in the *Madeleine* of Vignon, followed the Virginia Capitol by a score of years. The same enthusiasm for antiquity, not less romantic for being a trifle provincial and sophomoric, was responsible also for America's priority in pushing to extremes, in executed buildings, the subsequent imitation of the Greek temple.

So far in our study we have been concerned with classicism as a revival of Roman forms. These, as time went on, were to be replaced by models derived from Greece.

It was in a landscape garden that had appeared the first fruits of the new knowledge of Greek forms: the Doric temple at Hagley, built by "Athenian" Stuart in 1759 — still almost as exotic as the Chinese pagoda of the same moment at Kew. For some time it had relatively few sequels.

It was in Germany that Greek models were first followed on a larger scale. The *Brandenburger Tor* designed by Langhans in 1788 was suggested by the Propylaea at Athens. Gilly, for a monument to Frederick the Great, proposed in 1797 a peripteral Doric temple raised on a high substructure. His disciple Schinkel began in 1800 with a garden temple of Pomona. That the classicism of Schinkel was indeed romantic is illustrated by his Gothic design for a memorial to Queen Louise, on her death in 1810. Her columnar mausoleum, following a sketch by the King, was his first official commission. His picturesque Gothic studies of 1819 for the cathedral of Berlin were contemporary with the building of his Royal Theatre, at once classic and functional.

The first American monument in which Greek forms were used was the Bank of Pennsylvania¹⁴ (Fig. 10), designed in 1799 by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who had come from England in 1796 with excellent professional training in architecture and engineering. He gave the bank the general form of a rectangular temple, with prostyle porticoes using the Ionic order of the Erechtheum, but with the banking room circular and crowned by a Roman dome. In words put into Latrobe's mouth in a satirical pamphlet by his perennial antagonist William Thornton, he is made to say, "The Bank of Pennsylvania I know has been much admired, but it would have been much handsomer if

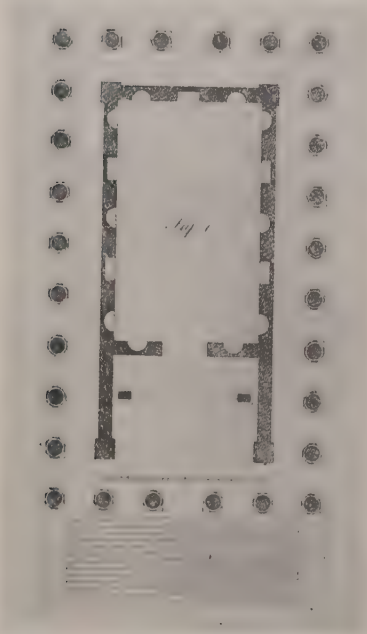


FIG. 9. — Plan of the Temple of Concord and Victory at Stowe.

14. KIMBALL, *The Bank of Pennsylvania*, in: "Architectural Record", XLIV, 132-9, 1918.



FIG. 10. — LATROBE. — The Bank of Pennsylvania, drawing. *Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.*

Joseph Fox and the late John Blakely, Esqurs, directors, had not confined me to a copy of the Parthenon at Athens." That it was indeed American laymen who pressed for an extreme of classicism is shown by what Latrobe himself said of Samuel M. Fox, president of the bank, in an oration before the Society of Artists in 1811, that "the existence and taste" of the building were due to him.

That Latrobe's classicism was but one side of a larger romantic eclecticism is shown by his use of Gothic forms for a Philadelphia country house, Sedgeley, in the same year as his design of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and by his offering in 1800 two alternate designs, classic and Gothic, for the cathedral in Baltimore¹⁵. It is not without significance that the same man was thus the pioneer of the Greek revival and of the Gothic revival in America.

It was not until well after 1800 that Greek forms gained a really wide currency either in Europe or in America. Once more it was the Americans who pressed their use to its extreme consequences. Nicholas Biddle, the first American to travel in Greece as a part of his Grand Tour, sponsored as editor of the *Philadelphia Port Folio* a paper by George Tucker, disciple of Jefferson, urging an uncompromising imitation of Greek architecture. For the new Bank of the United States¹⁶ (Fig. 11) it was again the laymen of the board who suggested "a chaste imitation of Grecian architecture," with "a portico on each front," as stated in their

15. KIMBALL, *Latrobe's Designs for the Cathedral of Baltimore*, in: "Architectural Record", XLII, 540-50, 1917; XLIII, 37-45, 1918.

16. KIMBALL, *The Bank of the United States, 1818-1824*, in: "Architectural Record", LVIII, 581-94, 1925.

advertisement for competitive designs, July 9, 1818. Both Latrobe's design and that of his pupil William Strickland, which carried the day, were based on the Parthenon, with Greek Doric porticoes of eight columns. The ultimate step of carrying such columns along the sides as well as the front was taken by Biddle in enlarging his house Andalusia on the Delaware, which thus presented the aspect of the Theseum.

The victory of the Greek revival, on both sides of the Atlantic, coincided with the enthusiasm generated by the Greek war of liberation, of 1821 to 1833. It was in 1820 that Keats published the ode *On a Grecian Urn*, closely followed by Shelley's *Hellas*, and Byron's apostrophe

"The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece
Where burning Sappho loved and sung."

It was about 1830 that Poe ended his lines *To Helen* with

"The glory that was Greece
And the grandeur that was Rome."

As a homelier but not less significant example of the moral enthusiasm — so characteristic of romantic feeling — for the freeing of the Greeks, I cannot forbear citing again the Congressman from western New York, — a region redolent of names like Troy and Syracuse — who offered to supply from his sparsely settled district "six hundred men, six feet tall, bold spirits and daring adventurers, who would march on a bushel of corn and a gallon of whiskey per man from the extreme part of the earth to Constantinople."

Then indeed the Greek revival carried all before it, both in architecture and decoration. What had begun as a phase of romantic eclecticism won for a moment an almost uncontested supremacy. Decimus Burton's British Museum, housing the Parthenon marbles, was starkly Ionic. The Bank of the United States in New York, like that in Philadelphia, aped the porticoes of the Parthenon; the temple on the Illisus reappeared in the French church in New York; the Monument of Lysicrates crowned the Merchants' Exchange in Philadelphia and the Capitol in Nashville, as it did the tower of Saint Pancras in London. The extreme of literal imitation of the Parthenon, peristyle and all, came in the unfinished Scots' Monument on Calton Hill in Edinburgh and in the Valhalla at Regensburg.

The Greek Revival, even more than other artistic styles, thus bore within it the seeds of its own destruction. Just because of its relative fixity of ideals, its essentially imitative character, it had less capacity for indefinite growth. Once the Parthenon had been adapted as a bank, as a country house, other Athenian monuments as churches, as chapels, there was little scope for further effort in the same direction.

True there were a thousand minor possibilities of variation. The temple could be made Corinthian and given a peristyle, as in Walter's Girard College, or in the Ben Hill house in Athens, Georgia; it could have wings as in many state capitols, many mansion houses, like the Bennett House in New Bedford. Other basic types,

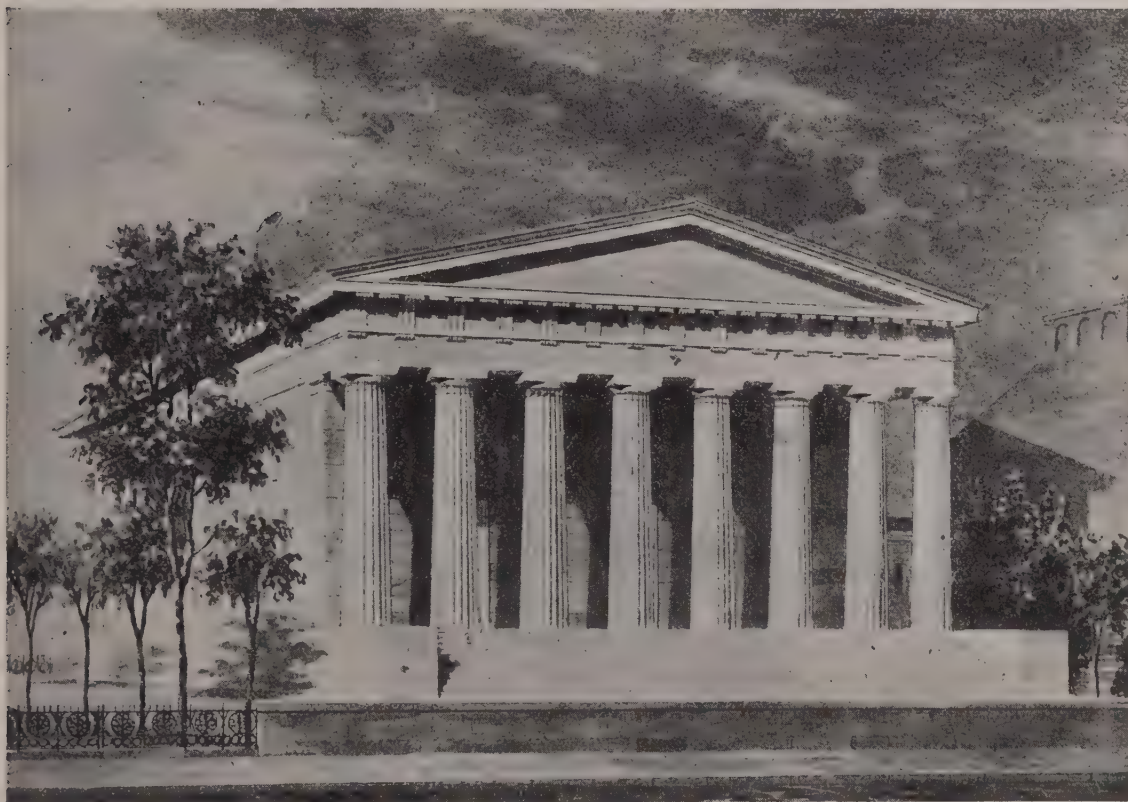


FIG. 11. — ALEXANDER JACKSON DAVIS. — The Bank of the United States, Philadelphia (1818-1824), drawing.
Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

like the *villa rotonda*, could be treated *à la grecque*, or Greek detail could be used for doorway and cornice on buildings otherwise of traditional form. The vocabulary remained limited — Ruskin reproached Edinburgh, the Athens of the North, for its thousands of windows which were merely square holes, all alike.

Every artistic movement, initiated as it is in opposition to a previously established academism, ultimately generates a new academism of its own. This has been true even of contemporary modernism, both in architecture and in painting and sculpture. We may well understand that in this respect romantic classicism was no exception. It was indeed particularly subject to this inevitable and lamentable tendency.

Romantic classicism, like romantic mediaevalism, had begun with an inner contradiction. The deep current of the romantic movement in art was a demand for artistic creation, which in this connection was first demanded and best expressed, just before the first prophetic works, by Shaftesbury whose whole thought foreshadows the romantic trend: "To copy what has gone before can be of no use. . . . To work originally, and in a manner create each time anew, must be a

matter of pressing weight."¹⁷ Yet the superficial manifestation of the movement in architecture was derivative of the historical interest called forth by the romantic spirit, and was thus embodied in more and more accurate copies of the antique as the antique became better known through historical and archaeological research.

By contrast with the catholicity of early Romanticism as to historic styles in garden structures, by contrast with the romantic enthusiasm for Greece itself around the '20s, and by contrast with the renewed catholicity of later romantic eclecticism as to choice of "style" on a basis of supposed suitability to different uses and types of buildings, the era of what we may call High Romanticism, from about 1830, tended to identify Romanticism definitely with the Gothic revival. It was the era of what was called the battle of the styles, Gothic versus classic. Thus the eventual triumph of Romanicism, as in the adoption of Gothic for the Houses of Parliament in 1840, brought a triumph of the Gothic revival over the classic. Actually, as we have shown, both were phases of a larger Romanticism.

Not merely the greater variety of the Gothic revival which Ruskin advocated, not merely the still wider field of choice among styles which a broadening eclecticism offered, but also the deeper tide of a functional modernism contributed to the ebb of the Greek enthusiasm. With the building of the Crystal Palace, the death knell of revivalism was sounded, though it was long before the condemned was to recognize its own doom.

Even in the pursuit of functional modernism, we still are romantic by our cult of the organic, and even of the creative itself, of the original — which as conscious artistic motives were quite foreign to many earlier periods. Thus we should not be too scornful of that earlier Romanticism which sought to be creative by leaning on history rather than on science and, unlike our own, had not yet sought to free its creation from dependence upon either.

FISKE KIMBALL.

17. *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 1711, cited from the 1790 edition, III, 5.



FIG. 1. — Cathedral, Almolonga.

SOME CHURCH FAÇADES OF COLONIAL GUATEMALA

BY the middle of the XVI century, when architectural activity on a larger scale became possible in the New World¹, the Renaissance manner of building was changing more and more into the style we know as Baroque. About the same time, Roman Catholicism, faced with the inroads of Protestantism, launched the Counter Reformation. On the one hand, Protestantism, with its more direct relationship with the simple member of the community, had its religious paraphernalia convenient to everyone, the minister within easy reach of all. On the other hand, the Catholic ritual was generally performed in the far end of a large building; the humble beheld the spectacle from a distance; the nobility, the gentry, the officials, the rich burghers were all on their benches in front of the

1. The author is indebted for privileges, advice, and information to their Excellencies J. Antonio Villacorta C., Secretary of Education, Republic of Guatemala, and Adrián Recinos, Ambassador of Guatemala to the United States.



FIG. 2. — La Soledad, Oaxaca, Mexico.

peon, obstructing not only his view but his contact with his religion.

With the movement of Counter Reform, the Roman church renewed its assertion of power and pomp in a manner intended to reach both high and lowly. The puritanical "God's Board," which the Reformers used in place of the high altar, was countered by increased and dazzling lavishness. The side altars too were refurnished and generally multiplied, receiving greater attention than ever before. Elaborate sculptural ornamentation vied with intricate and frequently gilded woodcarving.

Not only inside the church but also without it was the new trend made evident. On the façade, the geometric perfection of the crowning pediment began to be broken by the introduction of irregular lines. The column, which for the most part had been either plain or fluted in the Classic manner, was twisted and laden with ornament; vases, garlands,

medallions appeared in abundance. The independent statue, rather sparingly used on exterior surfaces in earlier periods and then always coördinated with the general aspect of the façade, stepped forward in Baroque, enlarged and protruding as it had never been before. Above the main portal, under the towers, all over the façade, niches were created to house a galaxy of saints. Statuary was placed even along the coping, so that it was silhouetted against the sky.

Besides the characteristic changes that developed in Baroque architecture during the centuries, the countries of Latin America reflect local variations which deserve attention. Just as the English colonists transplanted to North America expressions of their varied social, religious, and artistic life, so the priests, colonists, and high officials from the Iberian peninsula brought over their regional preferences to the New World. The study of the local trends transplanted from the four kingdoms, Aragon, Castile, Granada, and Navarre — which had often been nourished by Moorish influence — offers material for rewarding research. The fact that many of the colonial masons and even some of the architects were Indians adds to the fascination of the subject and accounts for oddities in the decorative scheme.

It should be pointed out that from the Conquest to the year 1700 the European



FIG. 3. — Santa Cruz, Antigua.

domain of the Habsburgs furnished, for the most part, the stimulus for the arts in the New World. The coming of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain at the turn of the century did little to "frenchify" the taste of the large colonies². By that time the latter had stored up so much inspiration from the Old World that their Baroque could go on of its own powerful momentum; indeed, it outlasted that of most European countries.

2. BERNARD BEVAN, *History of Spanish Architecture*, London, 1938, p. 166.

3. See: PÁL KELEMEN, *Battlefield of the Gods*, London, 1937, p. 207.

In Spain, in Italy, and in Western Europe, the ecclesiastical buildings are a structural part of the landscape and often dominate it; they grew out of an art which had been forming there for fifteen centuries or more. But in Latin America, Christianity built itself into an alien landscape; the native architecture of the former high pre-Columbian cultures—the Maya, Toltec, Aztec, Inca—was demolished as the work of heathens³.

Of all the art and architecture below the Rio Grande, that of Mexico is the most familiar to the public of this country; the adjacency of the land to our own has much to do with this. In



FIG. 4. — El Carmen, Antigua.

Mexico the Conquistadores found an autochthonous culture so far advanced that many of the native crafts were easily adapted to their own use. The population was numerous and artifacts could be produced on a large scale. Among other crafts, the making and polishing of pottery was so highly developed that the Spanish method of glazing could be introduced with little difficulty; and the Mexican architect was inspired to apply polychrome tiles to domes, towers, and even to the façades of his churches.

In Guatemala at the time of the Conquest, the potter's art and other crafts had declined somewhat from those heights to which the Maya artist of the Old Empire had raised them. Although both Guatemala and Mexico suffer from earthquakes, the architecture of the former was more strongly conditioned to this eventuality. Both of these factors have a bearing on the remarkable differences found in the manner of building in the two countries. While many examples of Mexican architecture would blend into the Spanish landscape, and even sometimes into the Italian, the stocky, earth-bound, sprawling masonry of Guatemala bears unmistakably the atmosphere of a new land.

Guatemala was primarily agricultural and did not have the mineral wealth which paid for the extravagance of the arts in Mexico and Peru. However, the record of this smaller country is also impressive. Its colonial capital, Santiago de los Caballeros, had eighty churches by the end of the XVI century, most of them with convents or monasteries and hermitages of various orders—architecturally a veritable panorama of various traditions and preferences. The provinces also stood on their own in this field. The haciendas, with their wheat, sugar, and cocoa, their herds of cattle and sheep, were able to reap an income which tempted them to ostentation. Provincial churches—some of them built in the early austere period and often planned also as fortresses—blossomed out with due changes and additions into excellent Baroque



FIG. 5. — Cathedral, Antigua.

buildings typical in detail.

Repeated earthquakes and changing economic conditions have transformed some districts, once rich and lively, into poor sleepy clusters of houses. Today many communities do not employ a priest, and the *cofradia*, or lay brotherhood, takes care of the churches. Roman Catholic ritual handled by Indian laymen, such as exists in the mountain districts at Chichicastenango and San Francisco el Alto, has produced a ceremony psychologically fascinating. In it, pre-Conquest Maya traditions are coated with a Christian veneer. To see the corn of the first crop laid out to be blessed on the church floor on a carpet of petals and pine needles, illuminated by candlelight and framed by kneeling Indians, is to gain an insight into the transcendental power of any religion.

The fact that many of these churches are administered by the Indians accounts in part for the lack of detailed data concerning them. Furthermore, the scant archives have been depleted by earthquake, fire, and revolution. Some of the places are so remote and so lacking in facilities for lodging that research still proves to be a difficult undertaking. In recent years, however, through growing national and foreign interest, the study of the ethnological, social, and ecclesiastical history of colonial Guatemala is advancing and, as a consequence, public appreciation is widening.

* * *



FIG. 6. — Detail, Cathedral, Antigua.

Almolonga, the first capital of Guatemala, was founded in 1524. One hundred and thirty Spaniards led by Pedro de Alvarado signed the founding document; among them was Hernando Pizarro, who with his brother, Francisco, subsequently played such an effective part in the conquest of Peru⁴.

Fifteen years later, with the aid of an unlimited supply of Indian slave labor, the first cathedral was completed. According to Villacorta, it had notable "*reminiscencias de los estilos góticos español y mudéjar*."⁵ About this time also, hermitages

4. J. ANTONIO VILLACORTA C., *Prehistoria e Historia Antigua de Guatemala*, Guatemala, 1938, pp. 352-354.

5. J. ANTONIO VILLACORTA C., *Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala*, Guatemala, 1942, p. 311.

and convents, hospitals and schools were erected by the Franciscan, Dominican, and Mercederian orders.

As the cathedral now stands (Fig. 1) it was rebuilt much later by the Franciscans and presents an ornate façade between two stocky towers, an adaptation of the *retablo*, heavily laden with statuary and urns. Aside from the statuary, a number of decorative elements are applied and blended into a harmonious whole; some of these elements come more clearly to the fore elsewhere in the architecture of the country. The column, which constitutes an integral part of a great many façades in Guatemala, appears here⁶ only as frame for the topmost niche with the Flaming Heart. In its place, as is the case in many other provincial churches, the conventionalized "urn" is used as a sort of pilaster.

La Soledad in Oaxaca, southern Mexico (Fig. 2) is an example of both similarities and striking differences in the architecture of neighboring colonies. Here is apparent the same general scheme as at Almolonga, although the towers are smaller and the plastic element somewhat looser and freer. Columns separate the niches, and the statues have more vigor and suavity of execution. The Oaxaca façade, built in 1682-1690, is steeped in Renaissance forms and shows not only

greater architectural and sculptural mastery but also a better general workmanship. In a comparison of the two, however, it must be admitted that its pomposity has to compete with the more human and immediate impression produced by the cathedral at Almolonga.

The second capital of colonial Guatemala, originally named Santiago de los Caballeros and known today as Antigua, is an architectural museum *en plein air*, displaying to the full the modulations of this country's Baroque. The few examples we have chosen to study and reproduce in this article are among the most representative of this style. The church of Santa Cruz⁷ (Fig. 3), is rarely visited today, as it stands off the road in the field of a coffee plantation. The name is derived from the stucco group in the



FIG. 7. — Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Antigua.

6. ROBERT C. SMITH, *Art and Architecture of Guatemala*, (*The New-World Guides to the Latin American Republics*), New York, 1943, p. 23.

7. All photographs except Figs. 1, 2, 11 and 14 by Elisabeth Kelemen.

upper niche representing Christ on the Cross with the two Marys at His feet. This was one of the early churches; its decoration does not have the full Baroque flourish. Although the façade is embellished with a variety of small stucco patterns, the effect is not one of extravagant ornamentation. The square window in the center is traditional. However, truly Baroque elements are evident in the scrolls and curving lines and in the six figures of saints arranged in opposing pairs in niches of uneven size. The statues are restrained in movement and given individual expression. In the capitals of the larger columns and in the friezes, cherubs appear as atlantes. On either side of the portal are found "rampant" angels amid exquisite arabesques, a favorite decorative motif in Guatemala⁸.



FIG. 8. — Entrance, Parochial Church, Chiquimula.

In judging the façade of the Church of El Carmen (Fig. 4), the whitewashed bracing wall and corrugated iron door — more recent additions — should be disregarded. The first church edifice was practically destroyed at the beginning of the XVIII century. After its reconstruction on an improved plan based upon the original, it was reopened in 1728 and became one of the favorite places of worship in the capital. The contrast of tempered simplicity in the lower half of the façade with the pomp in the upper half is brought out effectively by the play of light and shadow on the ornate stucco work. Here the decoration has become much heavier than at Santa Cruz. Admirable ingenuity is manifest in the intertwining of motifs. The figure of the Madonna stands at the peak of a bracket-like arch in front of the diamond window. While twin columns were often used in European Baroque to frame the entrance, the multiplication of them to make up a whole façade is a noteworthy feature of El Carmen. The familiar urn motif is gracefully applied on the pedestal.

The cathedral of Antigua, dedicated to San José, was begun in 1543 and enlarged in 1680 (Fig. 5). Work upon it was continuous and it may not have been

8. See: PÁL KELEMEN, *Colonial Architecture in Guatemala*, in: "Bulletin of the Pan American Union", Vol. LXXV, No. 8, August, 1941, pp. 436-448.



FIG. 9. — Church, Camotan.

completed even by 1773, when the city was devastated by an earthquake⁹. This building was the religious center of the whole kingdom. Here the archbishop and his retinue worshipped. Here Pedro de Alvarado, his wife, Donna Beatriz, and the great historian of the Conquest, Bernál Diaz del Castillo, were laid to rest with other notables of the colonial epoch, though the many earthquakes and subsequent repairs have destroyed identifying marks on some of the tombs. Major and minor chords of Baroque decoration are sounded in this façade (Fig. 6). Its exact appearance before

9. See: KELSEY AND OSBORNE, *Four Keys to Guatemala*, New York, 1939, p. 166.

10. VICTOR MIGUEL DIAZ, *Las Bellas Artes en Guatemala*, Guatemala, 1934, p. 161.

the great earthquake is problematic; early drawings show it with two rather low, flanking towers and the arms of the Roman Church, worked in stucco, in the center above the portal¹⁰. The façade here is also constructed with double columns interspersed by figures. The columns are plain and simple, even as to base and capital, but serve as an effective frame for the statues. Of these, the lower ones belong to a period much earlier than 1680, while the upper ones have been restored since the Independence from data furnished by old documents. The ornamentation of the niches is elaborate and differs at each level. The arabesques of the background emphasize the central figure of the *Virgen de la Concepcion*. The interior — even today, with its greater part in ruins — impresses the visitor by its vast scale. Rampant angels decorate the curving surface (pendentive) of the ruined vaults. Many



FIG. 10. — Calvario, Chichicastenango.

of the columns were once covered with tortoise shell. Stephens remarks on "bronze medallions of exquisite workmanship."¹¹

Bernál Diaz wrote with pride of the great improvements made by means of the arts in the service of the Faith. A scant ten years after his death a record lists the city as having artists and artisans in all the existing trades, among them four silversmiths, two jewelers, five sculptors, and three painters¹².



FIG. 11. — Church, Panchimalco, El Salvador.

The church of Nuestra Señora de la Merced (Fig. 7) was built in 1760. Its study requires a glance at the contemporary, sober, almost frigid architecture of Spain. The above mentioned church was new at the time of Antigua's catastrophe and withstood the shocks that left older buildings in ruins. Also responsible to a certain degree for its stability were the massive walls, which were occasionally ten feet thick. Saintry figures stand in richly decorated shallow niches, or rather cubicles, amid ornate capitals and jutting cornices. They lack the individually expressive gestures of those of Santa Cruz. In the center window, which is treated as a niche, stands the image of Our Lady of Mercy, from which the church takes its name. The all-over stucco work on a painted gray background contrasts sharply with the plain and whitewashed wall surfaces to right and left of it¹³. The floral garlands of stucco with which the thick columns are wound doubtless derive from those spiraling, story-telling reliefs of Classic Rome, well known from the victory columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius¹⁴. Small atlantes, plumper and less graceful than those seen at Santa Cruz, appear here also in the upper cornice.

Cosmopolitan and first-class Baroque was provincialized in Guatemala without losing power and effectiveness, as testified for instance by the façade of the parochial church at Chiquimula (Fig. 8). This town had been a regional center ever since

11. JOHN L. STEPHENS, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, New York, 1846, Vol. I, p. 271.

12. *Op. cit.*, Villacorta, 1942, p. 175.

13. See: PÁL KELEMEN, *Guatemala Baroque*, in: "Magazine of Art", Vol. 35, No. 1, January, 1942, pp. 22-25, 38-39.

14. In Vienna the façade of the Karlskirche, begun by J. B. Fischer in 1716 and finished in 1737, is flanked by two gigantic columns with such decoration. See: DR. HANS RIEHL, *Barocke Baukunst in Österreich*, Munich, 1930, p. 33.

the colonial period. In viceregal times, it was the seat of the Vicar of the province, who, at the end of the XVIII century, had under him thirty villages with a total population of over 50,000¹⁵. The composition of the whole façade, with its two stalwart towers, shows a radical simplification. The preference for rich and virtuose detail is no longer evident. Stereotype "urns" are applied as pilasters, and, in the second and third orders, only vertical lines ending in convolutes represent engaged columns. Pediment scrolls are repeated without variation, and statues with little expression stand in conventionalized poses. There is, nevertheless, a healthy robustness in the stark outline and powerful proportions of the structure. The fine line of the center window lightens the whole effect.

It was from Chiquimula that those intrepid travelers of the XIX century — John L. Stephens and Frederick Catherwood¹⁶ in 1839 and, some decades later, Alfred Percival Maudslay¹⁷ — started on their way to the Maya city of Copan in Honduras, which was later to become one of the most famous of American archaeological sites. We will now follow their road toward the border; Chiquimula and the villages farther along the trail are graphically described in the works of both authors.

The village church of San Juan Heremita is located in a region which in colonial times had considerable wealth, gained especially from the intensive cultivation of cocoa and sugar cane. The proximity of the famous pilgrim site, Esqui-

pulas, with its grandiose basilica, seems to have spurred the ambition of the colonists in this region to make their own church a worthy match for that monument. Many similar features may be detected in the façades of the two. But, while that at Esquipulas is framed by massive towers on either side, San Juan Heremita has only one slender tower which stands somewhat apart, overpowered by the ornate pediment. It can boast, however, of an outside staircase in a well-preserved state — a rarity on both counts — leading from the extreme end of the façade to the belfry. The well-proportioned dome and barrel vault make this building a fine example



FIG. 12. — Parochial Church, Panajachel.

15. BR. D. DOMINGO JUARROS, *Compendio de la Historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala*, Guatemala, 1936, p. 30.

16. See: PÁL KELEMEN, *The Stephens Centenary*, in: "El Palacio", Vol. XLVIII, No. 5, May, 1941, p. 97-110.

17. See: ALFRED M. TOZZER, *Alfred Percival Maudslay*, in: "American Anthropologist", Vol. 33, No. 3, 1931, p. 403-412.

of provincial Guatemalan Baroque.

Further along the same road lies Camotan, the last settlement before the Honduran border. The church here (Fig. 9), with its weather-stained closed door, stands on the plaza of a tiny lifeless hamlet. Although situated in the same curatorial district as Chiquimula and San Juan Heremita, its style recalls more distant models. The statues between its horizontally ribbed columns remind us of La Merced in Antigua; the bell opening in the center of the façade is representative of still another tradition. A rudimental tower at the right makes the façade unsymmetrical, to the disadvantage of its artistic effect. Both Stephens and Maudslay remark on the forlorn character of the site, which seems to have withered away after the cocoa and sugar plantations were given up.

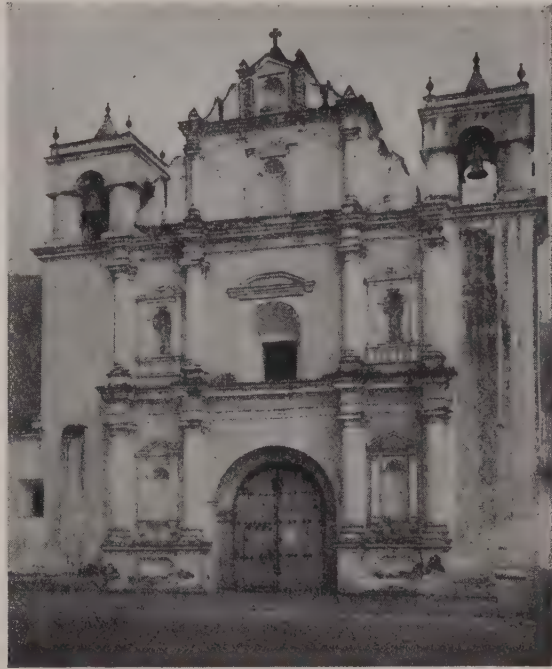


FIG. 13. — Church, San Antonio Aguas Calientes.

Another church, which stands on the square of Jocotan, a village between San Juan Heremita and Camotan, should be mentioned in this survey. This building is constructed with a plain, straight-columned façade and two dwarfed towers. In its uppermost central section there are two bell openings, but the decoration throughout leans much more toward the Classic. It is interesting that the churches of three neighboring settlements, only a few miles apart, should within the framework of the same style manifest such considerable architectural differences.

For the next two examples of this sequence, we turn from the extreme eastern part of the country to the central northwest, where lies the village of Chichicastenango, "Place of the Thistles." Maudslay describes the main square as follows: "The picturesque plaza was bright with the gala costumes of the Indians. The women wore heavy chains of beads and coins round their necks and were clothed in the most elaborately embroidered *huipils* we had as yet seen. Almost every man carried a blue or brown striped rug on his shoulder and some queerly dressed old men wandered among the crowd, with distaff in hand, spinning woolen thread. . . . At the top of the stone steps in front of the open church door, a large pile of wood ashes smouldered and flickered faintly in the sunlight. The man who tended this fire every now and then threw on the embers small pieces of coal, which scented the air with its heavy perfumed smoke, whilst around the fire groups of women knelt

to pray before entering the building.”¹⁸ In the main the description still holds today.

Santo Tomás, a church founded in 1540 is striking for a semicircular stair reminiscent of Maya tradition. Simple towers, topped with small domes, stand on a line with the rest of the façade. There is no central dome and the roofing is quite simple. The façade achieves dignity by a splendid medial molding with fine dentation and by the elegant fluting of the columns.

Closing the square on the other side is the Calvario (Fig. 10). When compared with the elaborate and lavish buildings in this country, it signalizes the end of the road in stylistic simplification. Nevertheless its straight lines and unbroken façade, with plain columns on either side, radiate strength. The high pedestals, the protruding cornices which divide the façade into three uneven planes, and the “domettes” on the ends of the broken pediment are unmistakable Baroque characteristics. This little building is in fact an echo of the main church — Santo Tomás.

A comparison should be drawn at this point with the church at Panchimalco in the Republic of El Salvador (Fig. 11), the neighboring state to the south of Guatemala. A few hundred miles from the center of Guatemala, this building represents another architectural idiom, proving again, as in the case of Almolonga and Oaxaca (Figs. 1 and 2), that the borders of the countries of Latin America even in colonial times signified artistic as well as topographical differences. When compared with any of the provincial Baroque types in Guatemala, the church at Panchimalco shows outspoken divergencies. In the façade may be sensed a hint of the five-part scheme — which is later so clearly demonstrated in Santo Domingo at Guatemala City (Fig. 14). The façade is drawn out horizontally, and, except for the portal, no opening cuts through the solid surface. While the upper curves of all Guatemala scrolls illustrated in this article turn inward, this El Salvador example presents the reverse. Also, heavier compound mouldings are used than have been seen elsewhere. The statues are pushed back within their niches with no striving for dramatic effect.

Evidence to the existence in this Baroque land of a trend toward Classicism along with the Churrigueresque tendencies is provided by the following examples chosen among many others.

The town of Panajachel on Lake Atitlán had five churches and ten *cofradías* in the last third of the XVIII century; today it is but a good-sized village. Only the façade and main walls remain of its parochial church (Fig. 12), but these are an eloquent reminder of the good standard of the local XVII century architecture. Built in 1641, it is finely proportioned — and carries on in its style that inclination toward the Classic pronounced in certain sites, subdued in others which — like an organ point in music that comes to triumphant restatement — persists until it emerges in Neo-Classicism. The pediment is unbroken. Even in the uppermost order, where the Baroque trend is often manifested most strongly, this façade is

18. ANNE CARY MAUDSLAY AND ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, *A Glimpse at Guatemala*, London, 1899, p. 73.



FIG. 14. — Santo Domingo, Guatemala City.

soberly restrained. Two towers at the sides are only suggested. The ribbed pattern of the molding, like a flattened balustrade, is unusual; it crosses the façade in two instances, but the motif is not modulated anywhere else. The statuary was kept on a small scale, subordinated to the general effect of dignity and poise.

Of later date and with more obvious Baroque leaning is the façade of the village church at San Antonio Aguas Calientes (Fig. 13). Here the *retablo* idea is more perceptible; the frames around the four niches (especially the two on the first order) might well come from XV century tabernacles. The square towers, kept in line with the rest of the façade, make the total effect more massive. The columns are perhaps slightly over-proportioned, but thus they give the façade a robust air. The fact that the village is only four miles from Antigua may account in part for the good design and refined taste apparent in this building. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the Baroque tendencies were so held in check, considering the proximity of that powerful disseminator of the style.

After the earthquake of 1773, the seat of government was moved from Antigua to the present capital of Guatemala. The church of Santo Domingo in the new capital city (Fig. 14) was constructed in 1782 after the plans of D. Francesco Carbonel and was finished in 1808. After the earthquake of 1917, it underwent a certain amount of reconstruction¹⁹. Unrecorded and, with time, forgotten alterations blur in many cases the original appearance of the buildings and befog the clarity of their

19. *Op. cit.*, Villacorta, 1942, p. 333.

style. The conditioning factor of frequent earthquakes is evident in the construction. An extremely light roof is used. Adequate wall surface alternates with the openings to offset eventual cracks. The façade is drawn out horizontally. Baroque and Neo-Classic elements are skilfully blended in it. While the five-part scheme is retained, the *retablo* aspect has disappeared. The oval windows are additions not encountered before. The low towers have been stepped back, emphasizing the façade proper. The ornamental section at the top has also disappeared; but the parapet, the dominating statues on the roof, the pediment decorations, the contours of the towers, and the consoles upon them still belong to the Baroque. Nevertheless, a general tendency toward Classicism predominates. The lines are straight, the pediments unbroken, the columns slender; the niches are shallow and plain, and the capitals, Classic. One is reminded of the Empire in some of the decoration, particularly the rosettes and garlands.

From the first cathedral of Almolonga to this church of Santo Domingo a pilgrimage full of revelations can thus be followed. The horizontal is more and more emphasized in these façades, due to the evolution of the Baroque as well as to local conditions. The position and size of the towers display a great variety. In the earlier structures, they do not seem to have always been so pronounced; with the development of the *retablo* effect, they step forward and frame the façade. At times, they are placed flush with it or they are set back of it, thus surrendering most of their independent quality.

Along with the polychrome splendor of Mexico and the gilded lavishness of Peru, the architecture of Guatemala offers a sober picturesqueness very well worth our attention. It is not necessary to find Gothic influence direct from Western Europe in early Spanish-colonial architecture or, in general, to go at all far afield to justify our interest in it. Particularly at present, when Europe and Asia are closed to research, much can be done here which will not only serve our good-neighbor policy but will broaden and deepen our humanistic perception in this country.

It is not to our disadvantage that we are forced to concentrate for a time on the arts of this continent. For when Europe is once more open to us, we shall have material to display which will not only reveal the great originality and genuine power in these arts but will offer a positive contribution to the general history of art.

PÁL KELEMEN.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

John Rewald. — *Georges Seurat*. — New York, Wittenborn and Company, 1943, 7½ x 10, 125 pp., 96 ill.

John Rewald. — *Camille Pissarro, Letters to His Son Lucien*. — New York, Pantheon Books Inc., 1943, 6½ x 10, 367 pp., 90 ill. \$6.50.

John Rewald. — *Paul Gauguin, Letters to Ambroise Volard & André Fontainas, with Reproduction of Ten Woodcuts*. — San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1943, 11 x 15½. \$20.00.

We usually wait for centuries to pass before attempting the exploration of an epoch's archives. And this, beside providing the very scheme and stuff of work in the historian's field, is bound to be a most ungrateful task both for the epoch and its explorer. The debt is great that the archives of Impressionism owe to the choice made by John Rewald of giving them all his talent of art historian while they have even not yet been covered with dust and have even not quite become archives but are still part of our own time's living and yet unfinished cycle of evolution. As yet there have hardly been any pieces lost among the many documents which constitute the background legacy of the Impressionists. They undergo, however, just at the present time, the tragic risk of disappearing under the great barbarian wave which is exerting all its power of destruction upon the treasures of European culture. It is, alas, much to be feared that the Dark Ages we are living through may reduce to ruins and ashes most of the monuments of the Old World's civilization. Even so recent an epoch as that of the Impressionists may thus become a devastated field on which we may be lacking data as much as we are lacking those of the Barbarian periods of the first Millenium of our era.

The works with which for the last years—from his thesis in Paris on *Cezanne and Zola* to the latest publications in the United States devoted to Seurat, Pissarro and Gauguin—John Rewald has enriched the archives of Impressionism are thus bound to acquire an even greater and quite especially pathetic value. Without considering, however, their importance for the future generations, it is but fair to emphasize the interest they already present for ourselves, contemporaries or children of contemporaries of the Impressionistic school of art. As indeed, we almost all are or feel so. In spite of the fact that we have not actually lived at the time when the masters of Impressionism were struggling for their art—at least as much as for their life—we feel as if we had, just because most of us have been present at the spiritual, at the symbolic birth and apogee of these masters, that is to say at the time when they finally succeeded in obtaining, if not full understanding, at least full recognition and esteem. We are thence particularly eager to learn about those masters even more than what their purely pictorial and artistic legacy

may itself inform us about. We are anxious to discover beyond the painters' or designers' confessions as provided by the study of their masterpieces—the more human, direct and true if not more sincere testimonies on the men themselves who created those masterpieces. It is not so much a discovery that we seek, not that sort of spiritual resurrection which is such a delight to us when achieved by art historians in respect to the older masters of preceding centuries. Here, we are much more seeking to pursue an illusion, the illusion of the actual continuation of an epoch which has been our own, which is still living for us and the termination of which we do not want to admit. And consequently nothing can be more pleasing to us than to be introduced into the very atmosphere of those artists' lives, to listen to their own voice—not that of formal speeches or discourses but that of everyday existence—as we can still hear this voice, thanks to John Rewald, not through its, rich as it may be, pictorial vocabulary but through the many forgotten and most precious documents which accidentally have preserved its actual, intimate, simply vocal reflection for us. John Rewald has indeed gathered and assembled, with a care which may be compared to that a restorer brings to the reconstitution of a precious porcelain or glassware, all the written and sometimes only vocal material that can be found around an artist's intimacy. He has made a watchful pilgrimage within the wide circles of still living friends and relatives of the masters he was studying. He had long talks with these and other witnesses of the humble lives of a great art's creators. He was rewarded by being entrusted with the letters many of them had received from these artists, with many documents which had remained hidden until now in their private family archives.

Thus has emerged the publication of the long series of Pissarro's letters with which the "Gazette"'s readers are well acquainted through the excerpts which John Rewald has given us the privilege of presenting to them before the appearance of the whole volume. Thus came, almost simultaneously, the volume devoted to Paul Gauguin and the one on Seurat. The rhythm of appearance of those volumes, especially considering the limited time the man responsible for them could afford to spend on that tremendous work at a moment when he had to struggle for his own living and beginning life in this country, alone deserves the widest of appraisals. It would even if this had been merely a presentation of so vast and unpublished a material, which had to be found, studied, classified and prepared for printing. But it is definitely much more than that. The author's commentaries, preface-studies, indexes never failed to give to the publication of this material all its value and importance. They greatly ease the reader's introduction to the study of this material, they help to

situate it at its right place in the records of the XIX-XX century's accomplishments, they assure its right understanding and appreciation. In the case of Seurat, where the publication happened to become the first monographical extensive study ever devoted in English to this short-lived and exceptionally fruitful genius—the precious new material used by the author is relegated to its modest, even though as precious, background-value and serves as such for an indeed excellent historical and critical analysis of Seurat's life, of the evolution of his art, of this art's life within the evolution of its century and in the face of this century's contemporary and posthumous reaction.

In this review of which we hope that the full appraisal could not be doubted, we are really sorry to have to introduce a regret, slightly personal but still concerning the scientific accuracy of the excellent bibliographical material quoted in the Seurat volume. The "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" claims with just pride the part it has taken in Seurat's wider understanding and recognition by the exhibition it has organized in Paris and London of *Seurat and his Friends*, the very title and theme of one of the best chapters in John Rewald's book. A mention of this event and of its small catalogue ranging among the documents' publications which are one of the "Gazette"'s scientific "pets", would have been greeted here as a small but precious reward. Also, Baudelaire's prophetic view of the extraordinary future roads which painting might follow in adopting the "pointillist" technique (prophetic to the extent of the very use of the term "points") had been discovered by an earlier careful reader of the *Curiosités Esthétiques* whose study of that question reported at the XIV International Congress of History of Art in Switzerland in 1936 should not have escaped the author's attention, at least through the interest it had evoked in the art circles of Paris.

But the limits of a book, we know, are far from being extensive enough to allow the paying of such, after all, insignificant debts. And we wish particularly to emphasize the friendliness of these remarks, especially so since we may have overlooked many details, and among them such mentions as referred to above, in our study of and delight about the valuable general and particular additions which the latest three volumes of John Rewald have brought to the bibliography of the French art of the XIX-XX century.

ASSIA R. VISSON.

Russian Icons and Objects of Ecclesiastical and Decorative Arts from the Collection of George R. Hann.—Pittsburgh, Department of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute, 1944, 7 x 10.

The catalogue of the exhibition of *Russian Icons and Objects of Ecclesiastical and Decorative Arts from the Collection of George R. Hann*, organized in January and February 1944 by the Department of Fine Arts of the Carnegie Institute, is also an extremely valuable addition to the bibliography of art, this time in one of its most remote and less well known sections: that of the history of Russian primitive painting to which, incidentally an article by Mrs. Scheffer is devoted in the current issue of the "Gazette". It is not by accident that the word "primitive" slipped into our mention of the Russian icon painting. This painting is indeed a close relative of the art

which has given to the term "primitive" all its unequalled splendor: we mean, of course, the Italian schools of the XIII-XV centuries. The Russian icon painting is indeed another branch of the same robust Byzantine tree which gave its substance to the spreading out of the Italian primitive genius. Greek monks, most of whom have remained anonymous and of whom the greatest, Theophanes, did not acquire the renown of a Duccio, which, however, he might have claimed—brought the Byzantine lesson to Russia at the earliest epoch of Russian modern history which follows two centuries later than the beginning of the same Italian period. The flourishing of the painting produced by those humble artists who, working with religious aims in mind, were unconsciously creating a great school of art, was considerable. Just as in the various Italian medieval centers of art, primitive painting was taking different expressions of variations upon the same theme—so in the various Russian centers of production—Novgorod, Suzdal, Pskov, Vladimir, Moscow, etc.—the evolution of the icon painting was manifesting different tendencies and characteristics. Most of these creations have remained anonymous and even the figure of an artist like Rublev, who might have claimed his place under the close shadow of a Giotto, is not yet definitely crystallized and most certainly is bound never to be. This anonymous character and imperfect knowledge which we may have of the Russian icon painting does not exclude at all the richness and high quality of this school of art. It calls forth, on the contrary, the reflection that great signatures are unnecessary attributes of great painting.

As the introduction to the Carnegie Exhibition's catalogue states: "In the United States, the public presentation of icons was inaugurated by a showing sponsored by the American Russian Institute in 1930 at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and in 1931 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and followed by several notable exhibitions. The old Russian icon, which is so much an eloquent and characteristic manifestation of the spiritual quest and the artistic ideals of the Russian people, is very far from being illustrated in a deserving fashion in any repository of art on this continent, or, for that matter, in Europe. In view of this regrettable dearth of material available to the public, one should welcome the formation and display of such an illuminating assemblage of icons as the one gathered by Mr. Hann."

This small volume which will indeed keep the permanent record of a temporary show deserves to be ranged in good place among the summary-works devoted to this subject. Its illustration is as rich, as well selected as it is characterized by the quality of its reproductions. The descriptive historical and critical notes on the various exhibited items are a model of catalogue accomplishment even though they may lead to some inevitable controversies in the matter of attributions. And last but not least, the introduction written by Mr. A. Avinoff, Director of the Carnegie Museum belongs to the clearest and most original short studies which the history of that long ignored, complex and highly meritorious school of art has been granted not only in this country but also in its motherland, which may find here one of the tributaries we are so anxious to pay it at the present time.

A. R. V.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHY KENT HILL, who in this issue discusses *Mass Production in Antiquity, its significance for the modern collector* page 65
is a former fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, has been at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore since 1934 and is Curator of Ancient Art at that institution. She has written on Classical sculpture, pottery and metalwork for the "American Journal of Archaeology", the "Journal of the Walters Art Gallery", the "Art Bulletin" and other journals, and has lectured for the Archaeological Institute of America.

NATHALIE SCHEFFER, a former pupil of Professor A. I. Anisimov at the Seminar for Russian Art, Moscow, has been active since 1937 as Russian Consultant and cataloguer of the Slavic section of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D. C. (an institution conveyed to Harvard University in 1940 by its founders, the Honorable and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss). Mrs. Scheffer's studies of the Iconography of the Virgin form part of a wider research upon liturgical and symbolic art in general, which has found expression in the present article on the *Symbolism of the Russian Icon* page 77

FISKE KIMBALL, Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art and one of the patrons and active contributors of the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", discusses in the current issue *Romantic Classicism in Architecture* page 95
His accomplishments in the field of museography and history of art could hardly be recorded here. We mention his brilliant research on writings in the history of art since the Renaissance, recognized by his election as a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects and as an Honorary Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of Architects. Among his studies of significant personalities in artistic movements have been those on Luciano Laurana in the Renaissance, on Burlington and Kent, Robert Adams and Jefferson in the classic revival, Berain and Pierre Lepautre in the genesis of the Louis XV style, and Matthew Lock and his fellows in the Chippendale style. His volume on the art of the Rococo, representing ten years of unremitting labor and considered by himself as the prime work of his lifetime, was recently greeted by an enthusiastic world-wide audience.

PÁL KELEMEN, Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and a member of many scientific societies, studied art at the Universities of Budapest, Munich, Paris, and at Harvard University, under Pasteiner, Wölfflin, Salomon Reinach, and Alfred M. Tozzer. His field of study was Impressionism before the nineteenth century and Christian art, and he finally made of pre-Columbian Civilization his special field of investigation. He lectured extensively on pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial art, taking upon himself the task of bringing to European audiences the latest results of archeological research in the United States and promoting a closer intellectual rapprochement between the U.S.A. and the South American countries. His book *Battlefield of the Gods* (essays on Mexican art, history and exploration), London, 1937, was selected as the Travel Book of the Month. Lately he has published a book on *Medieval American Art*, New York, 1943, of which a review has appeared in the November 1943 issue of the "Gazette". His article: *Some Church Facades of Colonial Guatemala* page 113
widens the scope of material which he is bringing forth in the same domain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY in this issue page 127
is by MRS. ASSIA R. VISSON, associated with the "Gazette" since 1930 and Secretary to its Council.

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